

THE CLERGY REVIEW

MAY, 1947

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The Editor is always ready to consider articles which may be of interest to the Clergy, but these should be typewritten, with double spacing. We also invite our readers to propose for solution cases in Moral Theology, Canon Law, Liturgy, or other departments of sacred science, and we hope that they will not hesitate to contribute to our Correspondence pages their views on the solution of such cases or on any other matter which falls within the scope of THE CLERGY REVIEW.

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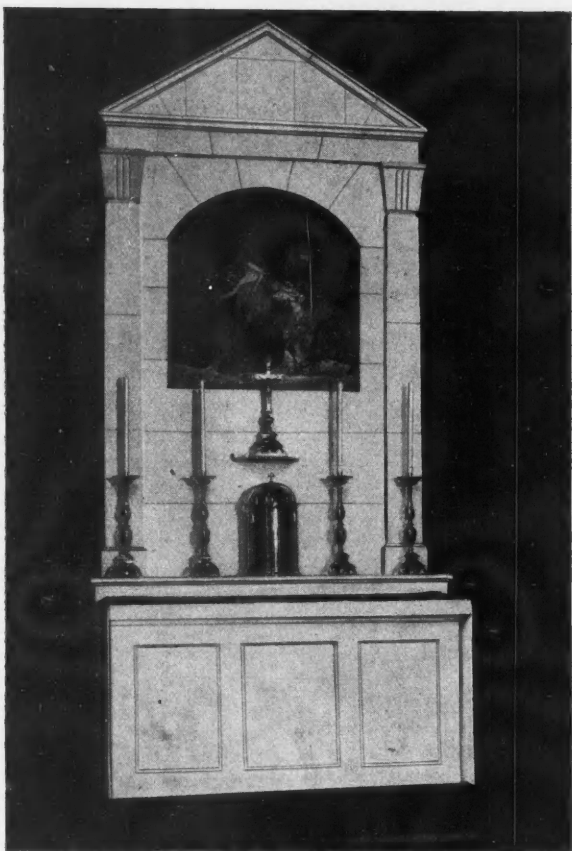
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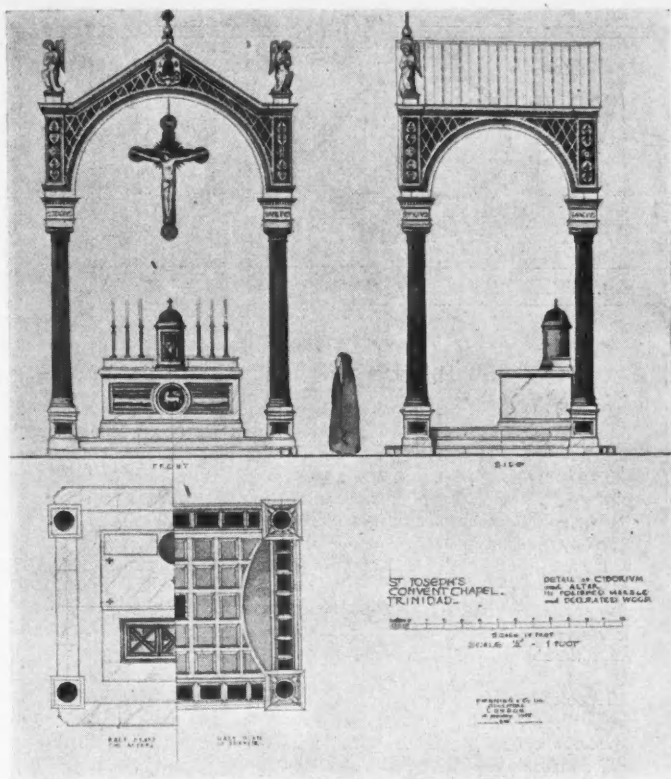
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THE MONTH

MARCH 1947

VOL. CLXXXIII

EIGHTY-THIRD YEAR

No. 957

CONTENTS

INCLUDE THIS REVIEW

(P. 187 et seq.) . . . All things considered, one can safely say that the publishers have achieved, if not perhaps the golden mean, at least a very happy and satisfactory one. . . . While keeping within due limits the size of each volume, they have studied generously the convenience of the user. Among many commendable features the following may be mentioned almost at random: the volumes overlap rather more extensively than was usual in previous editions: the *Lectiones Breves* at Prime are printed out in their appropriate place in the psalterium for all the feasts, when Sunday psalms are used: the antiphon for Prime is also printed out on the feasts which have their proper antiphons: the collect of the day is invariably repeated where necessary on another page: the abbreviated ninth lesson appears in its proper place.

There is also one noteworthy feature which will be welcomed by many priests. Each volume caters lavishly for the priest's private devotions especially after Mass. In addition to the usual Litanies, there is an admirable selection of indulgenced prayers specifically connected with the priestly state and vocation, and the distinctly English character of the publication is emphasized by the inclusion of the collect of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Protector of the English Secular Clergy, the collect of the Blessed Martyrs of England and Wales and the collect of the Blessed Martyrs of Douai College.

We congratulate the editors and all who have been responsible for the publication of a great work magnificently done, and take the opportunity of expressing the hope that this native edition of the Roman Breviary may meet with the success it deserves, and that it will be but the first of many subsequent editions published in this country.

Breviarium Romanum. 4 Vols. 18mo. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne. Price: £11. 11. 0 (Morocco). £9. 9. 0 (Rutland leather). Supplements extra. 1947.

The CLERGY REVIEW

NEW SERIES

VOL. XXVII. No. 5.

MAY 1947

LYDGATE AND OUR LADY

WHO could help being drawn to the boy John, of Lydgate near Newmarket? "Loth to learn," he was, "Strange to spelle or rede", busy about nothing but "pley or merth", late for school, and making up lies of excuse, running into gardens to steal apples, daunted by "nedir hegge nor wall" when on fruit-stealing forays or vineyard-raiding, readier to play at cherry-stones than to go to church, slow to bed and slow to rise, ready for dinner, but with his hands unwashed—how human it all is! Psychologists, also, will note the expert descriptions of this revealing autobiography.¹ Lydgate says he was "following all the appetites which belong to childhood", "crying for nothing, and suddenly, happy again", "lightly turning from one thing to another", "wild as any colt". One can almost see this spirited young scapegrace, up to all mischief indoors and out, but all the time restless and unsatisfied, the very qualities which drove him on reproaching him for his wildness.

At the age of fifteen, probably in the year 1385, John was accepted as a postulant at the monastery of Bury St Edmunds (where he seems to have been already at school), and the next year he was clothed. In 1388 he received Minor Orders, in 1389 he became sub-deacon, in 1393 deacon, and in 1397 he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Ely in the chapel of the manor of Dounham.

Already in 1390 Brother John had met Geoffrey Chaucer, who encouraged him, helped him with his verses, and inspired him to some effect. For although Lydgate claims Chaucer as England's greatest contemporary poet,² and posterity has endorsed his judgement, yet it was Lydgate who had the greater reputation for at least two centuries, and probably he has contributed the greater number of words to the English language.

After his ordination Dom John was much in London: the

¹ "The Testament of Dan John Lydgate." E. E. T. S. *Minor Poems*, Vol. I, 329 ff.

² "My mayster Chaucier, chief poete of Breтайne." *Thoroughfare of Woe*. l. 188.

friend of the great nobles and the Court, patronized by Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, a visitor to Paris in 1426, where he wrote in support of Henry VI's claim to the French throne, friend also of the City Guilds and Burgesses, complaining, like Chaucer (but rarely), of an empty purse, finally relieved of his office as Prior of Hatfield Regis in 1439 and returning to his monastery to lead a stricter religious life. His pension was paid until 1449: he may have lived on till 1451.

Such is the brief outline of a career well worth investigation. For Lydgate has been meticulously edited by men (and women) expert in text and history, but without that Catholic understanding of the most essential elements of his work. It is by Catholics especially that the religious writings of Lydgate need fresh and sympathetic study. The present article, necessarily a summary only, may help to indicate the good things waiting to be quarried.

A slightly scornful notice in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (alas! how provincial are these savants outside their own province) dismisses in two words Lydgate's "medieval Mariolatry". But a Catholic reader finds, with ever freshening appetite, that it is also the "Mariolatry"¹ of the shining lights of the Eastern Episcopate, Modestus, Germanus, John of Damascus, of the Syrians like Ephraem, of the Spanish Ildephonsus, of Alphonsus Liguori, of Ireland ancient and modern, of the whole Church of God today and tomorrow. There is no better way of realizing the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God than by putting under a microscope some element of our Faith, such as (and this is our present quest) one aspect of its "mariolatry".

The sources of this enquiry have been almost entirely the two volumes of *Minor Poems* and the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*. Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, written at the request of Henry IV when Prince of Wales and presented to him as King, though printed by Caxton, was promised but never published by the Early English Text Society (to whom we owe so much), and is not now readily available.² But the three volumes cited will furnish enough material for this cursory survey.

¹ The term is anyhow inaccurate, if not slightly contemptuous, for "latria" is not applied to Mary.

² At a guess, it began with the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and ended with the apocrypha of the Assumption, analogous to the Mystery Plays.

John Lydgate's devotion to Our Lady was no mere literary fashion. It is true that he translated works of devotion from the French, and it is also true that his master Chaucer (as his contemporary Hoccleve) wrote charming passages in honour of Our Lady. But Lydgate's devotion did not depend on them, and indeed he surpassed them both.

Note the spontaneity of his devotion expressed in the preamble to some of his poems.¹ "Beholdeth nowe flowing next here the translacyoune of Gaude Virgo mater Christi made by Daun Johan the Munke Lydegate by night as he lay in his bedde at London." Or, "Lo, here beginneth a balade made at the reverence of our lady by daun Johan Lidegate the munke of Bury in wyse of chesing (choosing) loves at Saint Valentyne's day," with the haunting refrain of each last line:

"I love one, for she excelleth alle."

One night also, between midnight and grey dawn, Lydgate wearily lays down his pen, picks up a book with a picture of Our Lady in distress, and is moved to compose a ballad to commemorate her sorrows.

Nor is his a literary devotion only:

"I shal ech nyht with humble and meek usage,
Knele before the, by maner of homage,
Thy joys remembering; and after surely slepe."

(I shall each night with humble and meek custom
Kneel before thee, to do thee homage,
Thy joys remembering; and afterwards sleep securely.)

Cf.:

"Devoutly knelyng seith with herte and thought."

(Devoutly kneeling, saith with heart and thought.)

Nor are his devotion and confidence merely theory, but they are encouraged by successful experience.

¹ I have not thought it necessary to give detailed references. They are, however, available for anyone interested.

"I am fful wel expert, and ha fful experynce of thy benynge goodnesse, which in all mescheff and in all my nedys I have ever ffounde redy un-to me."

(I am fully an expert, and have full experience of thy benign goodness, which in all mischief, and in all my needs, I have ever found ready for me.)

The very fact of his unworthiness is urged by Lydgate as a special claim to be heard:

"And certys, lady with supportacion off youre grace, hadde nat synnerys ben, thow haddist nevere be Reysed to so high a degre off worshippe."

(And certainly lady,—if thou wilt excuse me saying so—had there been no sinners, thou wouldst never have been raised to so high a degree of honour.)

Lydgate is fond of this theme: Our Lady as "Consolatrix Afflictorum". In the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* there are developed four kinds of "Consolation of Afflicted Hearts", and the first is Mary, and the second is Mary, and the third and fourth are Mary: all for different reasons, running to ten and a half pages of prose (pp. 444-454.)

No wonder, for she is

"Of pite the welle and eke the sprynge,"

(Of pity the well and also the source)

nor is there another,

"that for your nedys so modyrly can provyde,"

(that can provide for your needs with such motherly care)

nor again is assistance given only according to our merits. Lydgate says to Our Lady:

"Full well thow quytest that done the love and serve
An hundred sythys bettyr than they deserve."

(Full well thou requitest those that love and serve thee
A hundred times better than they deserve.)

Our Lady has the power to help us, for she is the

"Orignal gynning of grace and all goodnesse,
And clenest condite of vertu moost soverayne."

(Original beginning of grace and all goodness,
And most clean conduit of sovereign virtue.)

We prick up our ears at the word "conduit", in view of supposedly modern ideas of Our Lady's mediation, and sure enough we are rewarded by a clear-cut statement of Mary's universal mediation based on a paraphrase of the sentence in St Bernard's *De Aqueductu*, num. 7: "quia sic est voluntas eius qui totam nos habere voluit per Mariam"¹.

"the blyssed lorde hath so dysposyd the Ordenaunce off hys gracyous gyfftes, that we may ha no pocessioun off no goodnesse but yiff yt passe by the honndes off that blyssed Mayden."

(The blessed Lord has so disposed of His gracious gifts, that we may get possession of no goodness unless it pass through the hands of that blessed Maiden.)

This is no derogation of Christ's mediation, for

"O blyssyd lady, fflying to the ys nat but a Recours unto hym."

(O blessed Lady, fleeing to thee is nothing else but a recourse to Him.)

Lydgate has here the three essential points: that all grace passes through Mary's hands; that it does so by God's ordinance; and that Christ's mediation is not impaired thereby. He draws the practical conclusion:

¹ Lydgate has, "Nichil nos Deus habere voluit, quod per manus tuas non transiret."

"And therefore, O thow mercyable lady, that I may have helpe off hym in every Tribulacion, ffyrst yt behoveth me that I resorte unto thee."

(And therefore, O thou most merciful lady, that I may have help of Him in every tribulation, it behoves me first to have resort to thee.)

Lydgate, elsewhere, appeals to Mary because mediation is her *métier*:

"Socour to man, our damages refourmyng,
Marie, be mene of trouthe and of pity,
That we his Mercies eternally may sing."

(Succour to man, repairing our loss,
Marie, be the channel of truth and of pity,
That we may eternally sing His mercies.)

Sometimes Our Lord is urged to accept Mary's intercession, on the double ground of her merits and her position as mediator:

"For Marye's sake, thyne eares doune enclyne,
Here myne orisyon, by mene of her prayer."

(For Mary's sake thine ears down incline,
Here my petition by the intermediary of her prayer.

Our Lady herself, conscious of her office, advises

"Trust in his mercy and I wyl go be tween,
And humbly knele be for hys fface,
For almankynde be medyatrix and mene
Of synful folk to releve the trespase."

(Trust in His mercy and I will go between,
And humbly kneel before His face
And be for all mankind mediatrix and go-between,
To make up for the trespasses of sinful folk.)

With this clear concept of Our Lady as, not author, but Mediatrix of grace there goes (then as now) the appreciation

of her part in our redemption, so that (as in St Ambrose) salvation is predicated of her absolutely, without fear of misunderstanding. She it is

"That all mankynde preservyd hast from deth."

(Who hast preserved all mankind from death)

And again,

"That by thyne empryse in thys mortall werre
Of oure captyvyte gatest the full victory."

(Who by thy victory in this deadly war
Of our captivity, won complete victory.)

Lydgate and his contemporaries understood very well what we find it so necessary to insist upon, namely Our Lady's initiative and personal responsibility in the whole master-plan of our redemption, having in their minds (as we have) the Royal Proclamation of Genesis iii, 15:

"For thou hast oppressed doune his heed,
With al his dredful venyme serpentyne . . .
Out of oure thraldom to get us lyberte."

(For thou hast trodden down his head,
With all his dreadful serpent's cunning,
To win us liberty from our captivity.)

So Lydgate, in terms dear to Catholics of all time, begs Our Lady to spread her mantle over her suppliants:

"ffor benygnelly thow receyvest, swetly ffostryst, and mercyably
closest under thy mantel off mercy, alle tho that ffeen to the ffor
socour and helpe."

(For thou receivest benignly, fosterest sweetly, and mercifully
coverest with thy mantle of mercy all who flee to thee for help
and aid.)

Or again,

"This mantel of myserycord on oure myschef spred
And or woo awake us, wrappe us under this weed."

(This mantle of mercy spread over our misfortune
And wrap us in this garment lest woe surprise us.)

Not only is Our Lady full of pity for us, but pity *from us* for her sorrows is an authentic note of true devotion to her.¹
So Lydgate writes:

"Myn herte is troubleyed thy sorwys to descryve,"

(My heart is troubled at describing thy sorrows)

but he perseveres, for

"But of compassioun they may myn herte perce,
To that intente I do hem here reherce."

(But out of compassion, that they may pierce my heart,
For that purpose, I record them here.)

The poem which follows this avowal, on the fifteen joys and sorrows of Mary, has this special interest, that it is a forerunner of our Rosary. For after each joy and each sorrow there is a "rubric", "Pater Noster. X. Ave". One of the two poems on this subject, moreover, is translated from a French original: so that this form of the Rosary was already current in France.² Incidentally, the second half of the Ave Maria has not yet been officially recognized, and is still tentative and private devotion merely.

The homely and vivid devotion of Lydgate's period dramatized the sorrows of Our Lady (as St Ephraem³ dramatized the Annunciation), making her speak in her own person:

¹ As by Our Lord, in His revelations to St. Margaret Mary, pity is made an authentic note of devotion to the Sacred Heart.

² Cf. "Elements and Office of the Rosary", being chap. iii of Maisie Ward's *The Splendour of the Rosary*.

³ And as the Liturgy does, especially in Holy Week.

"O alle ye douhtren of Jerusalem,
Have som compassioun of my sihes deepe,
Not lyk the gladnesse wich I hadde in Bedlem.
Kom neer of routhe, and helpe me for to wepe."

(O all ye daughters of Jerusalem,
Have some compassion for my deep sighs.
They are not like the gladness I had in Bethlehem.
Come near, of your pity, and help me to weep.)

The passion is considered as still going on, as in a sense it is.¹ But, just as in medieval devotion² anticipation of the Cross overshadows joy in the Crib, so also sorrow for the sufferings of Christ never obliterates the sense of the final triumph, as Our Lady declares in the following magnificent paean:

"For manhis love he faught a gret batayll
With his sevene hedys he outrayed the dragoun,
Lyk myghty Sampson with-oute plate or mayll,
In his strong ffyght he strangede the lyoun,
Thus was my sone mankyndys champyoun,
Thorough his most myghty magnanymyte,
As kyng and bysshop made his oblacioun
Upon the hih auhter of the Roode tre."

(For love of man He fought a great battle,
He overcame the dragon with its seven heads,
Like mighty Sampson, without plate or chain armour,
He strangled the lion in his great fight.
Thus was my Son the champion of mankind,
Through His most mighty magnanimity
As King and Bishop He made His oblation
Upon the High Altar of the Tree of the Cross.)

With reference to Our Lady's personal grace, Lydgate voices the joyful recognition of his time that Mary is the pinnacle of God's creation:

¹ Cf. "(I) fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ, in my flesh, for his body, which is the church." Col. i. 24.

² Cf. *Spiritual Songs*, Comper, for many instances.

"She ys so parfyte, she cannot be amendyd.
 Modyr of Jesu, myroure of chastyte,
 In woord nor thout that nevere did offence . . .
 Was never clerk by rhetoryk nor seyence
 Koude all hir vertues rehearse on-to this day."

(She is so perfect, she cannot be bettered,
 Mother of Jesus, mirror of chastity,
 Who never offended in word or in thought . . .
 There never was clerk, by rhetoric or knowledge,
 Able to rehearse all her virtues, never to this day.)

These lines suggest the Immaculate Conception. But we find words which not only suggest it, but seem to anticipate the actual technical terms of the Definition :

"Thow art devoyde, by a singuler prerogatyff, from alle unclennesse off synne."

(Thou art devoid, by a singular prerogative, of all uncleanness of sin.)

Further, Mary's holiness is a thing of special interest to all three Persons of the Blessed Trinity.

She was :

"that mayde and moder fre,
 y-chosen of the deyte
 Ful many hundred yer to-forn
 Or she was off hyr moder born,
 . . . clenest of chastyte
 And named herberwe of all the deyte."

(that maid and mother free
 chosen by the Deity
 very many hundred years before
 She was of her mother born,
 . . . cleanest of chastity,
 And named hostel of all the Deity.)

Christ is described as choosing her for Himself:

" . . . the temple and the chosen tower,
Where Cryst Jhesu, oure blessed Saveour,
Chees for tabyde for thyne hoolinesse."

(. . . the temple and the chosen tower,
Where Christ Jesus, our Blessed Saviour,
Chose to dwell, because of thy holiness.)

Other passages reassert that Mary "merited"¹ to be chosen. She it was:

"That made the lord thorough hir humylyte
To let his goddewe into hir brest down falle
To bere the fruyt which should save us alle."

(Who made the Lord, through her humility,
Let fall His Godhead down into her breast
To bear the fruit which should save us all.)

Not only the Son, but the Father also is represented as taking the initiative:

"My fader above, beholdyng thy mekenesse,
As dewe on rosis doth his bawme spread,
Sent his goost, most soverayne of clenness,
Into thy brest (a! Rose of wommanhede)."

(My Father above, beholding thy meekness,
As dew on roses, doth its balm spread,
Sent His Ghost, most sovereign of cleanness,
Into thy breast, Ah! Rose of Womanhood.)

The Holy Ghost,² "conceived by hearing", enters His "chevest habytacle" (chief habitation):

¹ Cf. "which for thy meryt bore the fruyt of lyff." (Who for thy merit bore the fruit of life.)

² "Audiendo concepit", a familiar Patristic phrase. Lydgate records painless birth as well as conception: "whiche has chylde without sore or payne" (who brought forth her child without sorrow or pain). She was, in fact, "enbelysshed (embellished) with his byrthe".

"whiche conceyvedist oonly by hering,
whane theoholy Gooste, moost soverayn of vertu,
entered thy brest."

(Who didst conceive only by hearing,
When the Holy Ghost, most sovereign of virtue,
Entered thy breast.)

These selections have also the purpose of showing how sound was the theology of Lydgate and his period. Mary is only a creature, but she is the instrument of God in respect of all three Persons, and the means by which our salvation was made possible. With this foundation secure, Our Lady's humanity is never considered as superseded by her unique graces, and the joy and sorrow of her career are pictured with all the tenderness of an understanding child.

But, with that foundation secure, how exultantly does the poet let loose Our Lady's titles!

"Thow myrthe of martiris, swetter than cytolle,
Of confessouris richest donatyff,
Unto virginis the eterne aureolle."

(Thou gladness of martyrs, sweeter than harp music,
Of Confessors richest reward,
To virgins the eternal crown.)

We seem to be launched on the Litany of Loreto!

"The Ordrys Nyne of Angellis with gladnesse,
As to there Queen, to the doun obeisaunce."

(The Nine Orders of Angels with gladness
As to their Queen do obeisance to thee.)

Similarly,

"Syth thou art laus apostolorum,
Entyr in Englund thy dower . . ." ¹

¹ See Fr Bridgett's *Dowry of Mary* for the controversy as the spelling and first date of "Dower". He seems not to have known Lydgate.

(Since thou art "Praise of Apostles"
(Let not the pestilence) enter England thy Dowry.)

Our Lady's courage was unassailable:

"O ruby, rubified in the Passyoun,
O stedfast dyamaunt of duraycoun."

(O ruby, made red in the Passion,
O steadfast diamond of endurance.)

A steadfastness shown by her fidelity to her Vow of
Virginity:

"as a ffyx sterre stood evere stable . . .
nat with-standyng the promys and behest
off the Aungell, thow stood evere stable
and not chaungest thyn holy purpos
of thy vyrgynte."

(As a fixed star (thou didst) stand ever firm
notwithstanding the promise and request of
the Angel, thou didst stand firm and wouldst
not alter thy holy purpose of virginity.)

There is no space here to express the wealth of allusion to History, Nature, Classical Literature and Mythology, which Lydgate lays under contribution to illustrate the glories of Mary. His "Valentine" poem alone includes references to Lucretia, Marcia, Dido, Rachel, Lia, Candace, Rosamund, Bersabee, Esther, Saba (Queen of), Penelope, Alcestis, Polyxena, Helen, Thisbe, Cleopatra, Griselda, "Pallas Minerva", Pantasilea, Zenobia!

One or two last points may be noted. The realism and sound theology of Lydgate understood very well (what is much to the fore at the present day),¹ that Mary's choice and election establish her as champion of souls against the unresting malice of the devil.²

¹ Apply "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood" (Eph. vi, 12) to the persecutions of our own day in Spain, Mexico, and Russia. Cf. also the last of the prayers after Mass, "defend us in the day of battle", etc.

² Portrayed, with great vigour, in many contemporary books. Cf., e.g. *The Miracles of Mary*.

One sentence of Lydgate seems to have been echoed by Our Lady at Fatima in 1917:

"But the good lorde, seying so mych peple perysshe ffor the synne of the seyde Adam ordeyned the to ben a synguler Mene ffor manys salvacioun, off Entent, that who-so-evere ffilede un-to the ffor helpe and ffor Refuge shulde nat perysshē."

(But the good Lord, seeing so many people perish for the sin of the said Adam, ordained thee (Mary) to be a singular means of Man's salvation, with this intention, that whosoever fled unto thee for help and for refuge should not perish.)

And so the refrain often occurs:

"Remember of pechouris that to the ben assigned
Or the wyched fend his wrath upon us wreche."

(Remember the sinners who have been assigned to thee,
before the wicked fiend wreak his anger on us.)

Any Catholic, and especially any lover of Our Lady, will find himself refreshed by the enthusiasm of Lydgate's filial invocations of the Mother of God. He cries:

"Mesure my mornynge, myn owne margarite,"

(Measure my morning, my own Pearl)

and he calls her "laughing aurore" and "flour of alle floures, o ffleur of chastyte!" (laughing Dawn, Flower of all flowers, O Flower of Chastity.)

But the image of the rose¹ was his favourite. Mary was:

"This rose of Jericho, ther grauh non such in May."

(This Rose of Jericho, there grew none such in May.)

And in the poem "As a Mydsomer Rose" the red rose is conceived as the red blood drawn from Mary which issued from the

¹ Cf. the loveliest of his short poems, "The Child Jesus, to Mary the Rose."

five wounds of Christ, became a victorious standard on Calvary and an image to be cherished in our hearts.

"It was the Roose of the bloody feeld,
Roose of Jericho, that greuh in Beddlem;
The five Roosys portrayed in the sheeld,
Splayed in the baneer at Jerusalem,
The sonne was clips and dirk in every rem
Whan Crist Jhesu five wellys lyst uncloose,
Toward Paradys, callyd the rede stream,
Off whos five woundys prent in your hert a roose."

(It was the Rose of the bloody field,
Rose of Jericho, that grew in Bethlehem,
The five Roses depicted on the shield,
Displayed on the banner at Jerusalem,
The sun was eclipsed and dark in every realm
When Christ Jesus willed to let loose five springs
(flowing) Toward Paradise, called the Red Stream;
Of His five wounds print in your heart a rose.)

We may conclude with a "universal prayer", current coin now as when it was first written, and such as a wise mother would teach her children as soon as they are old enough to understand:

"On alle my frendis have pite and mercy,
On myne alyaunce and on my kynrede,
And uppon alle that love thee feythfully,
Remember of grace, O welle of wommanhede!
And graunt me grace with thought, worde, and dede,
The for to serve unto my lyvys Ende,
And my soole to save whan I shale hens wende."

(On all my friends have pity and mercy,
On those allied to me and my kindred,
And upon all that love thee faithfully,
Be mindful of thy goodness, O Well-Spring of Woman-
hood!
And grant me grace in thought, word, and deed,
To serve thee unto my life's end
And to save my soul when I depart from hence.)

AMBROSE AGIUS, O.S.B.

“WHY HAST THOU DONE SO TO US?”

“**S**ON, why hast thou done so to us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said to them: How is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about my father's business?”¹

The circumstances of this mysterious dialogue have an unusually strong influence on the choice of the words used and the form of their arrangement. There is the agony of loss, the need to be consoled, bewilderment to be settled. Our Lady seems to have arrived at some false judgement or other, if we take the words at their face value. If there is a false judgement, what is it? If a false judgement is to be admitted, it must imply no moral fault and must be compatible with the Incarnate Wisdom on the one side and the *Sedes Sapientiae* on the other.

In reconstructing the scene there is no need to enlarge upon the love between Mother and Son and the agony of loss. But what precisely was the agony and what determined its expression?

Our Lord had just arrived at legal manhood. Having left His parents in the caravan, He returned to the Temple. There was what we should now call a cloister containing bays. The Masters in Israel appropriated these bays to impart the most learned instructions in the Law and the prophets that Israel could provide. They were all, roughly speaking, in sight of one another. Each would have his school of disciples, who would listen, question and sometimes dispute. At times the disputations would attain extraordinary brilliance or, possibly, a doctor would be in difficulties. On such occasions he might summon another doctor to his help, or simply to witness. The schools were fluid, and a little thing would be enough to draw pupils from one doctor to another. On such a scene as this Our Lord entered upon His “Father's business”. Evidently all the preparation for His ministry was not to be left to St John the Baptist; He must do some Himself. He showed an example of reverence by asking questions rather than by making assertions. Soon He was surrounded by all the doctors and their schools.

¹ Luke ii, 48-49.

Whatever He meant to impart to the doctors, He did so by making them assert for themselves, and so observed all the requirements of modesty and reverence. Just as He had completed the task, His Mother entered in such agony of mind that it was impossible for her to keep silence. The agony is an intimate thing, not to say holy. The need for reticence is as imperative as the need to speak. Only the mother and the son must be admitted to the privacy of each other's thoughts.

The result is that each speaks two complete, simple sentences: Our Lady, one interrogative followed by one affirmative: Our Lord, two interrogatives. On Our Lord's part, we know in advance that His questions were not for His own information, and with that certitude in our minds it is better to treat the reply first. His questions are for the benefit of the questioned, not of the questioner. In this they resemble the rhetorical question, a familiar device in the art of oratory; the advantage of which is that all the listeners mentally enunciate the same answer at the same time. But here the resemblance ceases, because Our Lord is not persuading—He is much more likely to be consoling. But consoling with concealment, with reticence. The method in interpreting such a question is simply to translate the interrogative into an affirmative, e.g. "What did Gladstone say in 1889?" becomes "Gladstone said this in 1889 . . ."

So "How is it that you sought me" becomes "I know and you know why you sought me."

"Did you not know that I must be about my Father's business?" becomes "you knew I must be about my Father's business."

How do these assertions minister to the agony of the Mother of God and how do they serve as the vehicle of the unspeakable love of one for the other? Our Lady's complaint will provide the answer by the same process. Here there must needs be some reverent speculation. Mere absence is not sufficient to account for this extremity of anguish. The mother knew her Son to be perfectly capable of looking after Himself. The search for a sufficient reason seems to lead inevitably in this direction:

"Son, your hour has come and you leave me behind! I had hoped I might share it with you."

Our Lady knew, at the very least from Simeon's prophecy,
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that Our Lord's mission was one of suffering. It is hardly likely that she had not gleaned a little more in twelve years' life with Him. What more likely time for the fulfilment of the Mission than His attaining legal age? She was kept ignorant of the nature of the suffering perhaps, but most certainly ignorant of *the hour*. At Cana of Galilee she experienced the same difficulty: "Mine hour is not yet come." What harrowing sight was she to meet when she turned the corner? The great desire of her heart, which was to be pierced through her Son's, was to be by His side at the height of His suffering. So Our Lord's answer can now be expanded more fully: "Mother, I know your love, your courage, your devotion. I know why you sought me. You long to be at my side in my hour. But my mission is not from myself, but from my Father. It is not mine to give you, but His." Precisely the same answer to the Boanerges: "To sit at my right hand and at my left is not mine to give but my Father's." *Regnavit a ligno Deus*; and the Father decreed that the Virgin Mother should have her place of honour on the right.

Perhaps some scholar may come to the rescue and tell us what ground there is for the A.V. "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?" The English phrase *to deal with* is used, at least in modern English, to mean a course of conduct determined upon by a superior in relation to an inferior; and so is distinct from "why hast thou done so to us?" as between equals, and from "why hast thou used us thus?" as from a superior complaining to an inferior. If this nuance is justified it brings into bold relief the subsequent sentence: "He went down to Nazareth and was subject to them." What more probable to Our Lady's mind than that, having attained legal manhood, He should assert his position and His obedience should cease?

"And they understood not the word that he spoke unto them." Certainly not the doctors and their disciples, whose presence imposed the reticence. St Joseph perceived the love and tenderness, but no more. Our Lady received matter for pondering and her prayer received a particular direction. She would see immediately, however, that her boon must be taken to the Father, whose business it was to determine every detail of the great sacrifice to come.

THOMAS WATKIN

A PARISH IN THE BANLIEUE

LA FRANCE, *pays de Mission?* a report on the present state of Catholicism in France, has shocked its readers almost as much as William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* shook this country fifty years ago. A way out for darkest France is now proposed by the Abbé Michonneau in a book entitled *Paroisse, communauté missionnaire*. It is an account of how he and his curates have tackled, during the last five years, the modern problems of a working-class parish. Situated on the northern outskirts of Paris, it contains 22,000 souls gathered round one of Cardinal Verdier's unfinished churches, the Church of the Sacred Heart. The attendance at Sunday Mass, which numbered 1000 five years ago, has seen an annual increase of 10 per cent.

The workers, it would appear, have no desire for religion. They drift from its practices almost imperceptibly. They are easily attracted by the "mystique" of Christianity, but the positive prescriptions of the Church leave them if not hostile at least indifferent. Egalitarian, impatient and intolerant of all restraints on their immediate ambitions, they do not want to submit to any authority. It follows then that the first aim of the parish must be to create a climate, an atmosphere of sympathy, charity and Christian pride.

The majority of the people think "collectively", adopting the ideas that predominate in their group. They have the group mentality. The parish therefore must be first and foremost a missionary parish working through the family on the few who think, since it is in the family that they recover their personality; but to win and keep the majority it must act directly on the groups. The life of the parish is concerned with their life, their life of work and amusements, their life which is influenced by the doctor, the newspapers, the talkers, the local public-house and the cinema, their family life and their comings and goings. The gospel must be carried to all those who inhabit that piece of territory assigned to the parish; to all those who do not come to the priest, or whom the priest would never know if he himself did not go to them. If the parish ceases to preach Christ

to the majority of people who live within the parish boundaries, it is failing in its mission and betrays the mandate it has received. The parish is meant to be a living cell of Christianity, a spiritual community, like those dynamic, proselytizing communities created by the apostles wherever they went, and to which new converts were continually being added.

To the question: Why, then, do our Catholics so often lack reality? the Abbé Michonneau replies: "We speak to them about Catholic Action and we urge them to be apostles, but what part of the work is deliberately confided to them? The parish has become an affair of the clergy, not an affair of the faithful. They are kept apart even from the temporal administration of the parish. They are invited to give money for the works of the parish, but never to control the use that is made of their money. Have we reduced our parishioners to the condition of being mere listeners to our suggestions, advice and orders? Do we inspire them, encourage them, or are we not rather just superiors?"

The all-important theme of this documentary book is that the parish must again become a community like the communities of Christians mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles and therefore it must be capable of missionary enterprise. Hence a distinction should be made between the liturgy strictly speaking and the extra-liturgical services. The former is the prayer of the faithful, of the "initiated" in the ancient meaning of the word. The latter are meant to attract others besides the faithful.

At Mass in the Church of the Sacred Heart, Colombes, the faithful join together to answer with one voice the prayers of the priest and with him they recite the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Together they sit and kneel as should a community at prayer. Before beginning Mass, the celebrant announces the proper of the Mass and the Commemorations. There is a missal on every seat. Moreover, there are no seats reserved: the front benches are occupied by the first-comers.

Sometimes the priest offers the sacrifice facing the people. Occasionally, on a great feast, an altar is erected in the middle of the Church so that the "*meum ac vestrum sacrificium*" of the priest is more fully realized by the faithful grouped round the altar,

On Sundays, the bread and wine are placed on a stele in the middle of the centre aisle. At the offertory, they are solemnly brought to the altar. They form the offering which comes from the bosom of the community. During Holy Week, besides the traditional morning services to which only about fifty people can come, an adaptation in French is arranged for the evening and the church is packed.

Besides such Sundays as "Mission" Sunday there is "Gospel" Sunday, when the Church is decorated with scenes from the life of Our Lord and a large number of copies of the New Testament are sold. In the evening a speaking choir recites certain passages from the gospels chosen for their particular bearing on working-class life.

On "Mass" Sunday the server solemnly carries the altar stone to the altar, and at the offertory the members of the congregation bring to the altar an envelope containing their intentions. The evening service ends with veneration of the altar stone. On "Apostolate" Sunday the parish is blessed and the plan to "conquer" the parish territory is explained with the help of a large map of the district.

A Baptism is made as public as possible. When a member of the parish dies a Mass is said at least the following day, whether it is asked for or not.

Experience has taught the parish priest to make great use of the printed word. "We consume a terrible amount of paper. We believe in the leaflet which is easily read and which contains a few but well chosen sentences. The Parish Magazine must be simple, direct, familiar without being trivial. Behind the style there must be an idea. The people read more than we think and more attentively than we do. They are not impressed by a review. They are impressed by a newspaper." The Parish Magazine must aim at being read by those who do not go to church. It must be a missionary magazine. It must not on any account be pretty-pretty or merely entertaining. Very often the poorer the paper on which it is written the more likely is it to be read.

The last fifty years in France have revealed apparently a definitive trend from gymnastic societies and clubs to more formative movements like scouting; from the "patronage" which aimed at amusing the children to the Eucharistic Crusade and

similar movements with their methods of education for sacrifice and the apostolate; from mere friendly societies to study circles. The specialized movements of Catholic Action have given their own peculiar stamp to all modern activities. But there is always the danger of activities which began in an apostolic spirit degenerating into things of mere routine organization. Hence the need ceaselessly to rethink our problems and keep our action youthful and supple. "In the Church, the Holy Spirit keeps intact the first ardour of Pentecost and we should ever be animated by this Spirit of regeneration so as not to attach ourselves to the 'figure of this world which passes'."

When Cardinal Suhard first came to Paris he said: "The whole parish must be a missionary parish. The community of the faithful must be mobilized for victory and conquest." One experiment along these lines that has proved successful is for a family to invite some relatives, neighbours and friends to pass the evening with them. They have been told that the parish priest will come to discuss religious questions with them. The room is a bit crowded, but, still, that makes the meeting more intimate. All know one another and the priest is sympathetic and it soon becomes a sort of study circle or something like the "Padre's Hour" which paid rich dividends in the Army. The majority of those who come would never have visited a priest and he meets them on a religious footing. These reunions have become a permanent feature of the life of the parish and are announced in advance from the pulpit.

Another custom, common to many parishes in France, is the blessing one Sunday of as many statues of Our Lady as there are districts in the parish. The militants then take the statues and each statue travels from family to family, remaining in each house for twenty-four hours. A leaflet gives the prayers to be recited by the family gathered round the statue in the evening. When it has reached the last family in the street, all the families in that street come together, the priest says a few words and the prayer is recited together.

The book concludes with a chapter on an evil to be suppressed ("il se fait trop de bruit d'argent autour de l'autel pour que le monde populaire ait envie d'en approcher") and an obstacle to be surmounted ("notre culture, nos manières sont

'ecclésiastiques' avec ce que cette épithète comporte de 'prudence', de bienveillance condescendante, de timidité, et de 'bon ton'). The last chapter stresses the importance of a genuine priestly spirituality and the success that always comes where there is a good team-spirit among the priests of the parish.

It is a frank, honest, unpretentious book. "Mes vicaires et moi," writes the parish priest, "nous ne faisons qu'un; nous avons vécu ce livre ensemble avant de le dicter." It is this that gives it its value.

GERARD LAKE, S.J.

INDISCREET APOSTOLATE

[The following is a minute of the conclusions reached by the Assembly of French Cardinals and Archbishops, 25 and 26 June, 1946, relating to certain movements within the French Church. By courtesy of *La Documentation Catholique*,¹ which received the statement from the episcopal Secretariate, we give a translation of the document, both because of its intrinsic interest and because the attitude reproved by the French bishops is, in certain small respects, discernible also in this country.]

THE bishops are well aware that periods of violent commotion are always followed by new ideals and aspirations. Far from being hostile towards anything new of this kind, their Lordships fully recognize the nobility and the generosity which incline many priests towards a vigorous apostolate adapted to the needs of a dechristianized population. . . . A vast amount of good will result from reforms carried out in an orderly and disciplined manner,² but hurried and ill-digested schemes,

¹ See n. 972, 1 September, 1946. "Quelques graves problèmes de l'heure actuelle".

² The reference is to sociology as taught in the seminaries and applied in the dioceses, and also to liturgy, as noted in this REVIEW, 1946, XXVI, p. 300.—EDITOR.

accompanied by an impatient spirit of insubordination, can only result in defeating the purpose of the movement.

For any activity of this kind to be successful and blessed by God, the first thing required is a filial and trusting obedience to the guidance of the Hierarchy, an attitude which the bishops gladly recognize among the vast majority of their clergy and laity. They are also anxious at all times to welcome plans and suggestions for reform put before them out of reverence and love for the Church. But they cannot any longer tolerate writers, who declare themselves to be Catholics, contributing to reputable journals¹ articles whose tendency is injurious to the Church, or criticisms which point out with bitterness and lack of all proportion the frailties of Christian people. Neither can they permit their own actions to be subjected to summary or untrue comment, particularly as these writers, for the most part, are in complete ignorance of everything that the Church is doing at the present time.

The assembled bishops remind editors of Catholic reviews and publications of their grave responsibility in this respect: they must never forget that it is a menace to the unity of the Church to publish material which tends to affront the delicate sentiments of the faithful, to undermine their discipline, or to disturb their confidence in properly constituted authority.

In the second place, the assembled Cardinals and Archbishops express their regret at seeing important projects of reform launched on the general public hurriedly and without reflection. There exist many new schemes which could properly be debated by competent persons, but which have a harmful effect on the generality of readers.

The attention of the assembled prelates was directed specially to the following two points:

1. *It is being discussed whether the clergy, either for short experimental stages or for long stretches, would do well to go into the factories.*

The desire felt by certain priests and seminarists for closer contact with the masses of working people certainly reveals most excellent intentions. Episcopal authorization could properly

¹ "Revue d'inspiration chrétienne."

be sought by certain members of the clergy desiring to go through a stage of this character, for the purpose of acquiring more exact information about the conditions under which the people to whom they minister are working. The assembled bishops think that no objection could be brought against such proposals if made in exceptional circumstances, to be carried out in well-defined conditions, and by clergy possessing the requisite qualities of character and virtue.

But attention must be directed to an error which is liable to enter into such projects, and to the dangerous illusions which they may encourage.

The error consists in not keeping quite distinct the apostolate of the clergy and that of the laity, or in substituting the one for the other. . . . In these days the difference between the two domains of influence exercised by the two apostolates has been made very precise. Just as confusion is caused by substituting a lay apostolate for that of the clergy, so also is it caused by an error which is exactly the opposite. In this temporal world the laity have a mission to perform which is proper to them. Priests must respect this lay vocation, but they must also remember their own sublime vocation. A priest is man of God—*homo Dei*—a man of prayer, a man dedicated to the spiritual life, a man appointed to teach and sanctify others by his ministry. What the laity expect in their priests is the witness of a life wholly devoted to the things of God; what they want from them is the spiritual assistance which will animate and guide their own lay apostolate in the world.

It must also be observed that the persons who are most qualified to speak about Catholic Action amongst the workers are unanimous in declaring that the labouring masses do not want their priests to be engaged in manual labour.

It is most desirable for the clergy to be drawn more intimately into the lives of the working population amongst whom they are living, but this will be effected by the priestly example of a life of poverty, disinterested and self-sacrificing, as Pius XI teaches in the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*. If more than this seems required, one must beware of the serious illusion of imagining that, for the purpose of leading men to God, it is necessary to adopt their manner of life and to have personal

experience of the varying conditions in which they are living. The experience of manual labour, obtained by certain priests in extraordinary circumstances during the war, and endured by them with such admirable and supernatural generosity, cannot be repeated in the normal conditions of life, nor cited as an example to imitate in the perilous conditions of modern times.

What the laity require from the priest is simply that he should be every inch a priest.

2. *Grave and important reasons have induced the Church to require the clergy to wear a special ecclesiastical dress which distinguishes them from the laity.*

The assembled Cardinals and Archbishops remind the clergy of the law in this respect, reproduced in canon 136, and the penalties of canon 2379 to which those who disregard the law are liable.

The customs of other countries cannot be adopted amongst us, for it will be found that it is only in places where penal laws prohibit ecclesiastical dress that priests appear like laymen. In nations where there are no such laws, even though the cassock is not worn, there is always some style of clerical dress which clearly distinguishes a priest from a layman. In France any innovations in this matter will certainly cause troublesome reactions.

Good priests prefer the cassock, because it constantly reminds them of the life of sacrifice and self-denial which they have voluntarily undertaken, in the complete and generous exercise of their liberty, in order to belong exclusively to their Divine Master, and to be His witnesses in a world which knows Him not, witnesses of His truth and charity—*eritis mihi testes*.

The law recognizes, nevertheless, exceptional cases, where the bishop may see fit, for religious or practical reasons, to give individual priests a personal dispensation, and of these cases the bishop is the sole judge.

METAPHYSICS À LA MODE

THOSE who are acquainted with Professor Whittaker's Riddell lectures of 1942 and have read the article which he wrote in *The Month* (March-April 1944) will not find much that is new in his latest work,¹ which represents the substance of his Donnellan lectures delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, last year. He tells us that he has here seized the opportunity to attempt to throw light on a very old problem, that of proving the existence of God. The theologians, to whom the book is in part addressed, will observe that the light which Sir Edmund gives off is much the same as before, though the spectrum seems to reveal a "shift to the red", indicating that he is getting more distant from them.

The author's aim is "to indicate—for the consideration of theologians who are not men of science—what the obstacles are which face an inquirer into natural theology if he has been trained in the ways of modern science, and—for the consideration of the scientific inquirer—that they are less formidable than has sometimes been supposed, and moreover that the deeper understanding of the material universe, which has been achieved by scientific discovery, has opened up new prospects and possibilities to the advocate of belief in God."²

Can we say that this desirable aim has been achieved? So far as the obstacles confronting the author are concerned, the theologians are not likely to remain in any doubt; they will conclude that those obstacles have so far proved insuperable to him, and that he has yet to understand what natural theology is. Most natural theologians adhere obstinately to the view that natural theology is concerned with the ultimate cause of reality, of reality given in experience; whereas Sir Edmund is quite convinced that natural theology is concerned with physical science, and that it is a kind of epistemology. "Metaphysics," he writes, "must originate with reference to physics, since it is the conceptual framework into which our experience of Nature is to be

¹ *Space and Spirit*. By Sir Edmund Whittaker, F.R.S. Pp. 149. (Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 6s.)

² P. 135.

fitted;"¹ and elsewhere: "Observational science, in Roger Bacon's view, is the presupposition of metaphysical philosophy, which is obtained from it by a process of distillation, so to speak, the relation of metaphysics to science being like the relation of the attar of roses to the flowers from which it is produced."² Thus no roses, no attar. No observational science, no metaphysics. This is the author's view, and he appears to be anxious to foist it upon St Thomas.

At this point "the theologians who are not men of science" find that they are not theologians either. One can imagine them welcoming this book with relief: they can now abandon the arduous task of defending the preambles of Faith and with Erasmus cry "Back to the Gospel", for it is too late for most of them to go gathering the roses of mathematical physics. As they return to their Gospel, however, they will be puzzled by at least one thought: If Aristotelian metaphysics was a frame made originally to fit the picture of Aristotelian physics—a picture which has now been cut out and thrown away—how on earth can Sir Edmund be convinced that an entirely new picture, designed without any reference to the old frame, will providentially happen to fit?³

The situation recalls another metaphor about new wine and old bottles. If the theologians are Thomists they will see clearly that the author has burst their old bottle without compunction; and one presumes that the theologians addressed are in some sense Thomists, not Ockhamists. The difference is of some importance, and might be expressed briefly by saying that for the Thomist, metaphysics (including natural theology) is "scientia", that is, true and certain knowledge, while for Ockham and his followers it is not. If we accept Sir Edmund's findings, natural theology is not and cannot be "scientia". It is evident, he says, that proofs of the existence of God cannot constitute inescapable demonstrations which have a coercive power over the minds of all sane persons. The proof of Gauss's theorem, that any prime number of the form $(4n + 1)$ can be expressed as the sum of two squares, is apparently of this kind. (This is said as a warning to those who think themselves sane.) Now, as Sir Edmund does not mention the possibility of any

¹ P. 107.

² P. 45.

³ The metaphor is the author's.

other kind of demonstration we are left to conclude—against St Thomas—that the proofs of the existence of God cannot be demonstrations at all. But if the arguments for the existence of God cannot produce true and certain knowledge, then neither can the deduction of the divine attributes, and thus the whole of natural theology becomes a matter of opinion. The frame (or the bottle) thus remaining might be acknowledged by an Ockhamist, but the Thomist would not recognize it as his own.

Thus the new picture may well fit the old frame, but only because it is the Ockhamist frame, which has no definite shape. This perhaps has its advantages from Sir Edmund's point of view, but we may doubt whether natural theology is going to gain by abandoning the Thomist outlook. The author considers that Ockham's work "was of the highest importance, both for natural philosophy and natural theology".¹ That is undoubtedly true, but he should have added in what sense it was important. Professor Gilson also thinks that Ockham's work was of the highest importance, but in the sense that it was completely destructive of the Thomistic synthesis of reason and Faith. Ockham always maintained that absolutely nothing could be proved about God in the light of natural reason. What reason could say about theological matters never went beyond the order of dialectical probability. He regarded the "preambles of Faith" as propositions distinctly more probable than their contradictories, but he would not admit that any of them could be demonstrated. Ockham's influence, Gilson concludes, was everywhere present in the fourteenth century; nobody was allowed to ignore it. "The late Middle Ages were then called upon to witness the total wreck of both scholastic philosophy and scholastic theology as the necessary upshot of the final divorce of reason and Revelation."² In view of Sir Edmund's Ockhamist propensities, he might profit by examining Gilson's diagnosis of that philosopher's "intellectual disease" in *The Unity of Philosophical Experience*.³ What he will find there will enable him at least to understand why it was that, as he admits, "the inheritors of the Ockhamist tradition . . . tended . . . to

¹ P. 45.

² Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages*, pp. 86-87.

³ Chapter 3, "The Road to Scepticism". The whole of this book might have been written purposely to dissuade Sir Edmund from his course.

lose their vitality as a separate school of metaphysicians."¹ The fact is that a denial of the possibility of metaphysics provides a poor stimulus to metaphysical thinking. If natural theology cannot claim to be more than a likely story—even a very likely story—the difficulties which may be raised against its conclusions will tend to preponderate in men's minds over the evidence in their favour.

The author invokes the support of authority for his theory that arguments for the existence of God cannot be demonstrative, that is, such as to exclude the possibility of error and thus form the ground of genuine certitude. If such arguments could be devised, he contends, they would doubtless have been discovered before now. But no such arguments have been devised. *Ergo*. It is clear throughout the book that the author's views are conditioned, to some extent, by what Whitehead calls a "climate of opinion", and his reasoning here illustrates the fact. Supposing we grant the major, how does he justify the minor? He appeals to the judgement of "all those able philosophers among our contemporaries who do not in fact accept any of the proofs hitherto put forward" (p. 34). It is most unlikely that the theologians will be oppressed by this. They are inured to a "one-many" relation by this time. While admitting the ingenuity of their adversaries they think that something more than what the world calls "ability" is required for an appreciation of philosophical truths. Plato thought so too, and many have thought so since his time. "There is an ethical problem at the root of our philosophical difficulties; for men are most anxious to find the truth, but very reluctant to accept it." But even setting aside the ethical problem, one does not normally decide philosophical issues by taking a Gallup poll of "able philosophers"; this is to do away with evidence as the criterion of truth and to appeal to general consent, which the philosopher regards as the weakest of all arguments. In short the theologians will not regard the judgement of these "able philosophers" as clinching the issue; nor will they be in any measure impressed by their verdict until it is brought home to them in a convincing manner that the moral and intellectual qualities of the judges leave nothing to be desired. It appears not infrequently that

¹ P. 59.

even those who lay claim to have given Thomist philosophy some careful attention are still so far from understanding it as to make the most elementary mistakes. We may cite one instance here from a recent work on *The Nature of Metaphysical Thinking* whose author otherwise appears much better informed than most: "Thus we have six transcendentals, *ens, res, unum, aliquid, verum, bonum* . . . these can be predicated univocally of anything including the *ens realissimum*, of which we can say that 'It is.'"¹ In an account of Thomist doctrine this statement is a complete howler. "If in the green wood they do these things, what shall be done in the dry?"

To do Sir Edmund justice one must admit that the formidable array of authorities from Protagoras onwards whom he could cite in support of his theory is not his only or even primary ground for siding with Ockham rather than Thomas. His denial that proofs of the existence of God can be demonstrative accompanies Ockham's to its source, which is the latter's empiricist theory of knowledge. Ockham's attitude to the proofs was part and parcel of his empiricism and nominalism and, as far as one can make out from this book, so is the author's. His admiration for Aristotle and St Thomas as philosophers does not seem to go much beyond an approval of their insistence on the sensible origin of all our knowledge. To this he repeatedly refers, but the importance of what St Thomas calls "*intellectus principiorum*" seems to escape him. His view appears to be that wherever they relied on the absolute truth of a principle, they did so in complete defiance of their own methodological axioms. In accordance with his empiricism Professor Whittaker argues that the proofs of the existence of God have no coercive character because they suppose "principles such as those of causality . . . which carry us beyond direct observation and experiment, they belong rather to the ontological and transcendental domain—to metaphysics, in fact."² The argument, however, loses some of its weight if human knowledge is not, in fact, equivalent merely to actual or even possible human experience; if it can be knowledge—not just guesswork—even though it transcends experience. The

¹ *The Nature of Metaphysical Thinking*. By D. M. Emmet. Macmillan, p. 175.

² P. 37.

author unjustifiably assumes that it cannot. Human beings, he argues, relying on their ability to transcend experience, have been known to fall into error. Therefore this power should be denied them, except perhaps in the realm of mathematical physics: "As, in the development of physics, the laws become more general and more perfect, they begin to reveal a natural and ontological order, transcending the range of experimental facts on which they were based. . . . Physical theory, then, is much more than a mere account of observed phenomena: because the world is rational, the different effects are so inter-connected logically that when we have found by observation a certain number of them, we can deduce the others by pure reasoning without making any fresh observations. Our reason is capable of establishing between abstract notions, relations corresponding to true relations between things" (pp. 96, 100).

It is questionable whether the denial of the intelligibility of being as such (which appears to be at least implied by some of our author's statements) can live in harmony with the affirmation that the physical universe is fundamentally rational. But if being as such is intelligible and can be conceived by a sufficiently mature reflection on any experience of being, then we can know something about anything whatsoever, in so far as it is, and the kind of experience or the extent of the experience we have had is entirely irrelevant. Thus if my sense experience has been limited to the perception of lumps of matter my concept of being is none the less transcendental; nothing lies outside it. Being is not "a prisoner of its modes" and hence my human knowledge of being is not limited to the lumps of matter given in experience. But, protests our author, "a science of all Being cannot afford to ignore any region of Being regarding which knowledge is available" (p. 69). There is a sense in which that is true, but if it means that a science of being as such is not a science at all but just guesswork until we have had experience of every kind of being, then it is false. There is reason to think that this is what Sir Edmund does mean, and that while he enjoys differing from Kant on some points, he is very much akin to him on others, as in the following passage: "Even if it be granted that the fundamental conceptions of science—cause, order, relation, identity, class—are metaphysical, they do not consti-

tute knowledge, until their content has been filled in from experience" (p. 112). This is so strongly reminiscent of paragraph 18 of "The transcendental deduction of the pure conceptions of the understanding"¹ as to leave one wondering where the author's theory of knowledge takes him. And what of our conception of God? Must this also remain empty of content until filled in from experience?

Having established to his own satisfaction that metaphysics as an independent science is impossible, the author seeks to console the theologians somewhat by assuring them that from an apologetic standpoint metaphysics is "of little value". "It may be said broadly that nobody has ever believed in any type of metaphysics leading to theism who did not believe in the theism before he believed in the metaphysics" (p. 68). This might be put better by saying that anyone who is determined not to be led to theism looks for a philosophy which will justify him in not being a theist. It explains some of the antics of the "able philosophers" mentioned above. However, it appears that it would be unjust to St Thomas to suggest that when he turned to natural theology he regarded himself as a metaphysician ("spinning cobwebs in vacuo", p. 40). He was "a Christian priest, whose aim was one of practical apologetics: he set out . . . to present arguments of such a character that a man would be reasonably justified in acting on them". There is no ground for this estimate of St Thomas apart from the author's own preconceived opinion about the uselessness of metaphysics. A more complete misunderstanding of the Angelic Doctor's views on the relation of reason and Faith it would be hard to find. Sir Edmund's trouble is that he cannot understand why the Church should have made such a fuss about St Thomas's philosophy unless St Thomas's method of philosophizing was the same as his own.

There is one final point which is worthy of attention. Having reduced metaphysics to the status of an excrescence on physical science, the author has had to admit that he can provide only probable arguments for the existence of God. Now no Christian would object to his work if it merely aimed at persuading scientists to approach natural theology with a more

¹ *Critique of Pure Reason*. Everyman's Edition, p. 101 ff.

favourable eye, but there is serious objection to it if it conveys the impression that there can be none but probable arguments in such matters. When the Vatican Council says that God can be known "certo", it does not mean "with a high degree of probability"; it means that God can be known in such a way as to exclude the possibility of error. Only if our motive for assent to the existence of God is of such a character can our certitude be justifiable. It is a very dubious form of apologetic indeed which implies that we cannot genuinely *know* that God exists. To add that the present state of physical science permits us to think it probable does not make it any the less dubious. No Thomist has ever said that he or St Thomas could provide for the existence of God "demonstrations of the same coercive quality as those of mathematical theorems regarding numbers". Thomists have too much respect for the distinctions between the sciences and the peculiar characteristics of each to say such a thing. But true demonstrations of the existence of God there certainly can be. And this is why we are required to profess in the anti-modernist oath "Deum, rerum omnium principium et finem, naturali rationis lumine per ea quae facta sunt, hoc est, per visibilia creationis opera, tamquam causam per effectus, certo cognosci, adeoque demonstrari etiam posse."¹

This book serves one purpose. It gives a clear picture of the bedraggled state to which the "queen of the sciences" is reduced when she is harnessed to the chariot of physical science. "Fausse dès le principe," says M. Maritain, "qu'elle soit de Descartes, de Spinoza, ou de Kant, toute métaphysique qui se mesure non sur le mystère de ce qui est, mais sur l'état de la science positive à tel ou tel moment."² In the same vein Gilson says: "It does not even require a demonstration to make it clear; it is a flat truism that all attempts to deal with philosophical problems from the point of view, or with the method, of any other discipline will inevitably result in the destruction of philosophy itself."³

LEO McCREAVY

¹ Denzinger, 2145.

² *Les Degrés du Savoir*, pp. 8-9.

³ Gilson, *The Unity of Philosophical Experience*. Sheed & Ward. Pp. 120, 315-6.

THE FIRST ENGLISH BIBLE

PART II

AS far back as the middle of the nineteenth century Lingard said that at the time of Wyclif's translation:

"several versions of the sacred writings were then extant; but they were confined to libraries or only in the hands of persons who aspired to superior sanctity."¹

But he does not develop the point further. It was left to Cardinal Gasquet, in an article which first appeared in the *Dublin Review*² of July 1894, to advance the novel, and at first sight startling, theory that the two versions, commonly known to us as Wycliffite, are in fact Catholic versions of our pre-Reformation forefathers, and that their ascription to Wyclif is not based on positive testimony. In other words, they are an historical hoax, either deliberate or indeliberate.

All are now agreed with Cardinal Gasquet that Wyclif had little or nothing to do with the actual work of the translation of the versions attributed to him. Furthermore, the Cardinal, commenting on the decree of the Council of Oxford,³ points out that it forbade only unauthorized Bibles, while the Canonist Lyndwood likewise understood the decree not to extend to translations of the Scriptures made before Wycliffe's day. It is of interest, as well, to note that Biblical translations were not forbidden altogether by the Council, but only *unauthorized* ones. The decree forbidding unauthorized translations was more than necessary because the Lollards used Biblical passages not for edification, but to attack the Church and the social order at a time when stress and economic change accompanied by threats of revolution and anarchy were like weeds sprouting upon the refuse left by the Black Death. But

¹ John Lingard, D.D., *History of England*, Edinburgh, 1849, Vol. III, pp. 310-11.

² Printed with other essays, including a further essay in answer to criticisms of his *Dublin Review* article, in "The Old English Bible", London, 1897, reprinted 1908.

³ Cf. THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1946, p. 156.

Cardinal Gasquet's main thesis is that the Wycliffite Bibles in our possession are really versions made by loyal Catholics. This thesis has unfortunately been founded on an argument which, in the face of the penetrating criticism it called forth, seems to be erroneous and therefore no longer tenable.

Quoting St Thomas More's¹ statement with regard to Richard Hun, a Lollard prisoner of More's own day, Cardinal Gasquet concludes (with St Thomas More) that the Lollard Bible of Hun is heretical. He sees this conclusion confirmed by the fact that John Foxe² prints Thirteen Articles extracted from Hun's Bible which were read to the people at St Paul's Cross. The Cardinal says that Foxe's testimony bears out that Hun's Bible

*"must have been a Lollard production, although we shall look in vain in the edition of Wycliffite Scriptures published by Forshall and Madden for any trace of these errors."*³

But Cardinal Gasquet is mistaken. We do find these very errors in the General Prologue of the edition published by Forshall and Madden, and it is noteworthy that both Foxe and More refer to the errors in the *Prologue* of Hun's Bible, and do not refer to the text. They refer to the *Prologue* explicitly.

More says :

"There were in the *prologue* of that Bible such words touching the Blessed Sacrament as good Christian men did much abhor to hear . . ."⁴

And Foxe states :

"First, besides the articles before mentioned, which they affirm were objected against him (Hun) in his lifetime, Dr. Hed did now also after his death collect certain others out of the

¹ Sir Thomas More, *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, ch. xv, 3rd bk. Cf. modern version, Eyre & Spottiswode, 1927, pp. 241-2. "There lay his (Hun's) English Bible open. . . I remember well . . . there were in the prologue of that Bible such words touching the Blessed Sacrament as good Christian men did much abhor to hear, and which gave the readers undoubted occasion to think that book was written after Wickliffe's cōpye, and by hym translated into oure tongue. . ."

² John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, London, 1837, edited by Rev. S. R. Cattley, M.A., Vol. IV, p. 186.

³ F. A. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, London, 1897, p. 129.

⁴ Sir Thomas More, *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, cf. *supra*.

prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the Bishop's hands . . . which are these":¹

He then gives a list of thirteen "*New Articles commenced against Hun after his death*". Article XI deals with the Blessed Sacrament and is apparently extracted from the passage which St Thomas More² "remembers well" and runs thus:

"XI. Item, He saith, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men receiving it, shall thereby keep in mind that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us."

Neither Foxe nor More here mentions that the *text* of the Bible was in any way erroneous, both *explicitly* refer to the *Prologue*, and St Thomas More never actually says that *he saw* heresy in the text (although as we shall see later he wrongly thought that the text of Wyclif's Bible was heretical). Cardinal Gasquet then is wrong when he says that we shall look in vain in Forshall and Madden's Wycliffite Scriptures for any of these thirteen errors. In fact we find them with comparative ease in the General Prologue from which they were extracted. The following passage from the General Prologue agrees so exactly with the above mentioned heretical article XI as to admit of no doubt that this article itself was extracted from the General Prologue:

"Christ seith, *if ye eten not the flesch of mannis sone and drinke not his blood, ye schulen not have lijf in you*. This speche semith to comaunde wickidnesse either cruelte, therefore it is a figuratif speche, and comaundith men to comune with Christis passioun, and to keep in mynde sweetly and profitably, that Christis flesch was woundid and crucified for us."³

And the same inference is clear from a comparison of the other twelve Articles with the General Prologue. It should also be

¹ John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, London, 1837, Vol. IV, p. 186 (Bk. VII. Story of Richard Hun, Martyr).

² Sir Thomas More, *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, cf. *supra*.

³ *The Holy Bible made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe* . . . Edited by Forshall and Madden. Oxford, 1850. Vol. I, p. 45.

noted that Cardinal Gasquet quotes St Thomas More in the passage where he explicitly refers to the Prologue, and also mentions that Foxe printed thirteen articles "extracted from the prologue".¹ Therefore the Cardinal could hardly have been referring to the text alone as Fr Thurston, S. J.,² suggests, more especially as twice on the same page he mentions the Prologue and not the text.³ Moreover Cardinal Gasquet explicitly says that there is

"no room for doubting . . . that the prologues and the translation are by the same hand."⁴

Thus he admits the intimate literary connexion between the Prologue and the later Wycliffite version at least, and moreover maintains it is a Catholic orthodox version containing no error; yet we actually do find heresy, not in the text it is true, but in the General Prologue, which the Cardinal asserts is by the same hand.⁵ Fr Thurston, S. J., admits that this is a serious blow to one of the Cardinal's arguments, but says that it is still possible to maintain without inconsistency that the Earlier Version was in its origin not Wycliffite but Catholic as it is not the work of the author of the Prologue; but Fr Thurston overlooks the con-

¹ F. A. Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, London, 1897, p. 129.

² Article: "Dr G. G. Coulton and Cardinal Gasquet" in the *Month*, December, 1938, by Fr Thurston, S. J.

³ Cf. *A Premium upon Falsehood*, by Dr Coulton. (Barnicotts, Ltd. The Wessex Press, 1939.) An answer to Fr Thurston's article.

⁴ F. A. Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, London, 1897, p. 117.

⁵ Cf. article in *Month*, December, 1938, as supra. N.B. Fr Thurston is concerned to vindicate the intellectual honesty of the late Cardinal Gasquet which has been attacked by Dr Coulton on the grounds (among others) that the Cardinal reprinted his book, *The Old English Bible*, in 1908 (it was first published in 1897), without retracting erroneous statements contained therein, or at least attempting to answer his critics. Dr Coulton is the author of numerous abusive pamphlets and letters about Cardinal Gasquet because "He seemed quite unable to understand . . . that readers have a right to demand correction of historical falsehoods . . ." In a preface to this 2nd edition of *The Old English Bible* Cardinal Gasquet contents himself with saying, "At one time I had entertained the design of adding a third Essay to the two on 'The Pre-Reformation English Bible', which were much discussed at the time they first appeared, and the conclusions embodied in them were challenged in various quarters. Other occupations have prevented me carrying out this intention, and thus making use of material which, since the original papers were published, has been growing under my hand—material which, to me at least, seems to strengthen my contention as to the Catholic origin of the version which it has hitherto been the fashion without much justification to attribute to Wyclif himself." But the whole question of the Cardinal's "honesty" or "dishonesty" as raised by Dr Coulton is outside the scope of this present article.

nexion between *both versions* and the General Prologue established by Miss Deanesly, and also the testimony of the insertion after Baruch III, 20 "Explic^t. translacōm Nicholay de herford".

The foundation, then, upon which Cardinal Gasquet builds his thesis is erroneous, viz. that the edition of Wycliffite Scriptures by Forshall and Madden is orthodox and therefore the original work of Catholics and not of Lollards at all. In fact the General Prologue contains heresy, and the Cardinal himself admits the intimate literary connexion between the prologues and the text, so that the heretics responsible for the General Prologue must also be responsible for the text. The whole then is, it would seem, rightly presented by Forshall and Madden as the Wycliffite Scriptures.

Thus we have a Bible which seems to be the work of Lollards. The text is a fair and exact translation from the Vulgate, but the Prologue is heretical. The actual text of the Wycliffite Bible is orthodox and is that edited by Forshall and Madden, contrary to the opinion of Cardinal Gasquet that this is really a Catholic version and that the authentic Wycliffite heretical version has long ago disappeared.

But what of the evidence of St Thomas More (*vide infra*) and others, advanced by the Cardinal and his supporters in favour of his contention that Wyclif's Bible was heretical, and that there was an earlier (or at least contemporary) orthodox Catholic Bible? Does not this argue strongly in favour of his contention that Wyclif's Bible was heretical and is therefore not what we possess today as the Wycliffite Scriptures? It certainly enables us to see what led the Cardinal to maintain that Wyclif's Bible was heretical, and, moreover, provides him with the basis for asserting that there was a complete orthodox version produced by Catholics in the latter part of the fourteenth century. But it is difficult to see how it can excuse him from asserting that Forshall and Madden's Wycliffite Scriptures are Catholic because they are orthodox, whereas they are connected with an heretical prologue—a connexion which, be it noted, Cardinal Gasquet admits, although in some mysterious way he overlooks the heresy in the Prologue, and in a later article even attempts to justify its orthodoxy, saying :

"I can only repeat that it is hardly possible to read the Prologue referred to without seeing that the author of this translation had a filial reverence for the teaching of the approved doctors of the Church and was most scrupulous to translate the words exactly in accordance with the prevailing authoritative teaching."¹

That may be so, but having read the Prologue I fail to see how a Catholic could not notice its unorthodoxy. It may be admitted that the explicitly heretical passages are few and far between in this, a sixty-page Prologue, and that chapters III to IX inclusive (pp. 3-29) are a straightforward and orthodox summary of the books of the Old Testament from Genesis to Paralipomenon. But even a cursory glance through the sixty pages must leave the reader with the impression that the author of the Prologue is a man with strong feelings about prevailing abuses in the Church, and one cannot but notice that he denounces clerical failings and the clergy themselves in no uncertain terms. This alone should warn a Catholic reader to be on the look-out for unorthodox teaching. The whole of chapter X, for instance (pp. 29-34), consists of vigorous invective against authority both secular and lay, for:

"... to absteayne fro oothis nedeles and unleeneful, and to eschewe pride and speke onour of God and of his lawe, and repreue synne by weie of charite, is matir and cause now whi prelatis and summe lordis sclaudren men, and clepen hem lollardis, eretikis, and riseris of debate and of tresoun agens the king."²

Not only in this chapter, but also in many other places in the Prologue do we find attacks upon "prelates and clerks" in similar vein.

St Thomas More himself undoubtedly thought that Wyclif's Bible was heretical:

"For ye shall understand that the great arch heretic Wicklif, whereas the whole bible was long before his days by

¹ F. A. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, London, 1897, p. 176.

² *The Holy Bible: made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe* . . . Oxford, 1850. Edited by Forshall and Madden, Vol. I, p. 33.

virtuous and well learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read, took upon him of a malicious purpose to translate it of new. In which translation, he purposely corrupted the holy text, maliciously planting therein such words as might in the readers ears serve to the proof of such heresies as he went about to sow".¹

And this, he undoubtedly thinks, is the reason for the decree of the Council of Oxford:

"... it was perceived what harm the people took by translation, prologues, and glosses of Wicklif; and also of some other that after him holpe to set forth his sect, then for that cause—and for as much as it is dangerous to translate the text of Scripture out of one tongue into another, as holy Jerome testifieth, for as much as in translation it is hard always to keep the same sentence whole—it was, I say, for these causes at a Council holden at Oxenford, provided under great pain that no man should from henceforth translate . . ."²

But he goes on to point out that the Council of Oxford:

"... neither forbiddeth translations to be read that were already done of old before Wicklif's days, nor damneth his because it was new; but because it was nought; nor prohibiteth new to be made; but provideth that they shall not be read if they be miss made."³

And he observes that to his knowledge no authorized version was made at, or after, Wyclif's time:

"And surely how it hath happed that in all this while God hath either not suffered, or not provided, that any good virtuous man hath had the mind in faithful wise to translate it—and thereupon either the clergy, or at least wise some one bishop, to approve it—this can I nothing tell."⁴

¹ Sir Thomas More, *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, Bk. III, ch. xiv. (Eyre & Spottiswode, 1927.) Modern version, p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

Yet, as Cardinal Gasquet notes, St Thomas maintains that there was an orthodox Catholic version of the complete English Bible prior to Wyclif:

"the whole Bible was long before his days by virtuous and well learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read,"¹

and St Thomas More goes even further and asserts that he has seen these Bibles:

"myself have seen and can show you bibles fair and old written in English, which have been knowen and seen by the bishop of the diocese, and left in laymen's hands, and women's too, such as he knew for good and Catholic folk that used it with devotion and soberness."²

Now St Thomas More was writing well over a century after the Council of Oxford, and it seems that he (together with many of his contemporaries) is mistaken in thinking that the Council condemned Wycliffite Scriptures because they were heretical. The Council itself does not say as much; indeed, it seems rather more likely that Biblical translations were forbidden, except under due permission, as an anti-Lollard measure because of the wild interpretation of Biblical passages among the uneducated which was having a bad influence on the faith and true religion of a country labouring under economic upheavals and disturbances. Dr Gairdner notes:

"that which made Wycliffe's translation so objectionable in the eyes of his contemporaries was not corrupt renderings or anything liable to cause censure in the text, but simply the fact that it was composed for the general use of the laity, who were encouraged to interpret it in their own way without reference to their spiritual directors. To the possession by worthy laymen of licensed translations the Church was never opposed; but to place such a weapon as an English Bible in the hands of men who had no regard for authority, and who would use it without being

¹ Ibid., p. 230.

² Ibid., p. 232.

instructed to use it properly, was dangerous not only to the souls of those who read, but to the peace and order of the Church."¹

Miss Deanesly holds that More's historical evidence is at fault in his presuming that Wyclif's version was condemned because it was heretical. This opinion naturally led him to think that those Bibles he had seen were pre-Wycliffite Catholic translations as they were in orthodox hands, and did not appear to him to be theologically unsound. St. Thomas More doubtless overlooked the General Prologue—even if the Bibles he examined happened to have it attached. Moreover, as a lawyer, he would naturally have consulted the great commentary of the Canonist Lyndwood (to whom indeed he explicitly refers in the "*Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*") who notes that translations made before Wyclif's day were exempted from the condemnatory decree of Oxford.² Therefore St Thomas More probably presumed that the English Bibles he saw in the homes of the orthodox were those Catholic pre-Wycliffite ones (or copies of them) which were apparently allowed by the Council and (so More thought) were those referred to by Lyndwood. But it should be noted that Lyndwood does not explicitly assert that there were complete English Bibles before Wyclif's day; moreover his commentary may well be interpreted as referring to Anglo-Saxon and Middle English partial translations naturally not condemned at Oxford as there was no danger to be feared from them. Again, St Thomas More, presumably, was not able to date manuscripts historically, anyway within twenty or thirty years, and thus wrongly assumed that the Bibles he saw were pre-Wycliffite—even in his day these Bibles were treasured relics of the past. It seems likely then that the Bibles he saw were actually copies of the Wycliffite translation, the text of which was orthodox, and that it is some of these that we have today, a few copies of which (as shown above) have an heretical General Prologue. Admittedly there is the further difficulty that these Bibles were

¹ Dr. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, London, 1908, Vol. I, p. 117.

² Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Oxford, 1679, p. 286. "Et ex hoc quod dicit, 'noviter compositus', apparet, quod Libros, Libellos, vel Tractatus, in Angliā, vel alio Idiomate prius translato (i.e. before Wycliff) de Textu Scripturae legere non est prohibitum."

seen by St Thomas in the homes of orthodox Catholics and were

"known and seen by the Bishop of the diocese."¹

But a fair attempt at an explanation seems to lie in the fact that manuscripts of the English Bible rarely comprised the whole Bible, and manuscripts of the New Testament are much more frequent than those of the Old Testament to which the heretical General Prologue specifically belongs. Moreover the beautifully illuminated manuscripts which have come down to us could not possibly have belonged to poor Lollards; many of these manuscripts, it is true, are only of portions of the Bible, yet they are from the same source as the complete English Bible connected with the heretical General Prologue. It would seem that, as there was nothing heretical in the text of the Wycliffite version, and as it was a good useful translation, a limited number of copies were allowed to remain in the possession of the orthodox. The English Bible presented by Henry VI to the London Charterhouse even contains the first chapter of the Prologue, but the scribe seems to have omitted the rest, presumably because of its heretical tenets. If what St Thomas More saw were really versions of a genuine Catholic translation how is it that there is no contemporary witness to its production, while we hear much about Wyclif's from both the orthodox and the unorthodox? Also how is it that no copies of this Catholic version have survived, whereas manuscripts (possessed by orthodox Catholics it is true) connected with the Lollard prologue have come down to us today? Cardinal Gasquet accepts St Thomas More's evidence verbatim and maintains that what we have presented to us as Wycliffite versions today are in reality copies of a translation made by orthodox Catholics, especially as these manuscripts are found in orthodox hands, but he makes a fundamental error in overlooking the intimate connexion of these manuscripts (the text of which is orthodox) with an heretical Lollard prologue, an error which seems to me to destroy his thesis.

The reviewer in the *Tablet*² charges Miss Deanesly with a

¹ Sir Thomas More, *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, 1927. (Eyre & Spottiswoode.) Modern version, p. 232.

² Cf. *Tablet*, 22 January, 1921, review of Miss Deanesly's "The Lollard Bible".

biased approach and a preconception against the Church, but I think it is unfair to say that she uses only negative evidence and does not prove her point—especially as her thesis has never been adequately answered but only been subjected to minor criticisms (many, indeed, of which were warranted). Her fundamental argument, the intimate connexion between the heretical prologue and the two Wycliffite versions, remains unimpaired. It is certainly incorrect of the *Tablet's* reviewer to maintain that More's words do not bear out that he has seen heresy only in the prologue—this is exactly what they do: in the one Bible in which he tells us he saw heresy (viz: Richard Hun's), and which he therefore presumed was Wycliffite, he mentions heresy regarding the Blessed Sacrament in the *Prologue*. Also the *Tablet* reviewer seems definitely illogical in his vain attempt to make Miss Deanesly appear inconsistent. He maintains that, as she says that a slight examination of the General Prologue proves Cardinal Gasquet wrong (as it does, because it contains heresy), and that as she also holds that Forshall and Madden's edition contains heresy (as it does in the General Prologue), she is claiming that *both the text and the Prologue* contain heresy, because with the Cardinal she notices that both the text and the Prologue are the work of the same hand. This seems to be a false inference. Miss Deanesly very rightly claims that the Prologue contains heresy, but this is by no means inconsistent with her maintaining elsewhere that the Wycliffite Version is not heretical, where she is obviously alluding to the text alone which *in itself* is orthodox. Dr Hugh Pope, O.P., likewise states that Miss Deanesly maintains that the Wycliffite Bible is orthodox in order to explain away St Thomas More, and that nevertheless in other places "when it suits her" she says that it is actually heretical.¹ It may

¹ Cf. *Dublin Review*, January 1921, article "The Lollard Bible", by Dr Hugh Pope, O.P., where he cites the following pages in Miss Deanesly's book as evidence of her supposed inconsistency: p. 7 note, pp. 230-9 (which show that the *translation* is fair and not biased or heretical), p. 256 note, p. 279 note (which illustrates how Purvey's glosses on the Gospels, *not the text of the Wycliffite Bible*, contain one long heretical digression), p. 370 (showing heresy in the Prologue) and p. 372. Also cf. *Dublin Review*, September 1921, pp. 152-7, where Dr Pope and Miss Deanesly come to grips once more. Dr Pope admits that he has not access to the *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1901, which exposed Cardinal Gasquet's error, but thinks he is justified in concluding it has shown traces of heresy "not merely in the Prologue but in the text as well". In fact it shows heresy only where it is, viz. in the Prologue.

be a fair criticism to say that she has not grasped the Middle Ages because she does not understand the Catholic Church, and she is certainly opposed to the Church and its attitude towards the Bible, but it is possible to disregard her seemingly unsympathetic inferences and weigh carefully the evidence she provides for the detail of history with which we are here concerned.

Together with St Thomas More, Caxton is cited in support of Cardinal Gasquet's theory. In 1482, Caxton, in his Proemium to the Polychronicon translated by Trevisa, chaplain of Lord Thomas of Berkeley, in 1387, describes Trevisa as :

"after the composing and gathering of Dan Ranulph, monk of Chester, first author of this book, and afterwards Englished by one Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley, which at the request of one Sir Thomas Berkeley translated the said book, *the Bible*, and Bartholomew's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* out of Latin into English."¹

There is no other manuscript evidence for attributing a Biblical translation to Trevisa save this statement of Caxton made nearly one hundred years after Trevisa had "Englished" the Polychronicon of 1387. Miss Deanesly thinks that Caxton's assertion is perhaps accounted for by his loose reading of the passage in Trevisa's *Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk* (which he was then printing), referring to Biblical translations; and also that he miscopied the date in Trevisa's note which describes the finishing of his translation, thus misdating the work by thirty years.² It is, moreover, quite probable that, like St Thomas More later, he was aware of English Bible manuscripts in the possession of the orthodox and of the condemnatory decree of the Council of Oxford. As these manuscripts were good translations he thought that they could not be Wycliffite. He then combined this with the reference to translations in the *Dialogue*. Thus his conclusion that Trevisa made a translation of the *Bible* is probably no more than an unlucky guess, and it

¹ Cf. Miss Deanesly's *Lollard Bible*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 300.

² Cf. Rolls Series *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, edited by Churchill Babington, London, 1865. Vol. I, pp. lv and lvii, n. 1.

is unsupported by earlier evidence. Miss Deanesly maintains that statements of later writers rest on this mistaken assertion of Caxton, and that Bale and Pits and the translators of King James' Bible follow him. Dr Hugh Pope, O.P., does not think that Miss Deanesly's explanation suffices to offset the positive statement of Caxton. Be that as it may, this isolated evidence of Caxton coming a hundred years after the supposed Catholic translation (of which we hear nothing at the time) should surely be received with reserve.

Among other observations, some of which have already been considered, Dr Hugh Pope, O.P.,¹ points to John Foxe, who in the dedicatory epistle to Queen Elizabeth in 1571, when Parker published *The Gospels of the fouer Evangelistes translated in the olde Saxons tyme out of Latin*. . . , says :

"Now from the ancient Saxons, to drawe more nerer to later yeares, from King Alfrede to Queen Anne (wife of Richard II), if histories be well examined we shall find both before the Conquest and after, as well as before John Wickliffe was borne as since, the whole body of Scriptures by sondry men translated into thys our countrey tounge."

But this evidence (coming too from such a prejudiced party as John Foxe seeking precedents for Biblical translations) can hardly be advanced as a serious argument in favour of the thesis that there was a complete English Bible, in the sense in which we understand English, made by Catholics before or about Wyclif's day.

Cardinal Gasquet himself also cites Archbishop Cranmer, who, in the prologue to the second edition of the Great Bible, writes in defence of the Scriptures in English thus :

"And yet, if the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the scripture in the vulgar tongues, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not so much above one hundred years ago, since scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongues within this realm; and many hundred years before that it was translated and

¹ Cf. *Dublin Review*, January 1921, article "The Lollard Bible", by Dr Hugh Pope, O.P.

read in the Saxon's tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue: whereof there remaineth yet divers copies found lately in old abbeys, of such antique manners of writing and speaking, that few men now been able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading it was again translated in (*or* into) the newer language. Whereof yet also many copies remain and be understood."¹

The Cardinal thinks that Cranmer must have regarded these translations as authorized, but there is nothing to show this and although Cranmer is endeavouring to find precedents for Biblical translations his own personal opinion is surely more likely to have been that the Catholic Church did its utmost to keep the vernacular Bible (and thus his conception of true religion) from the people. Miss Deanesly says that Cranmer, anxious to find precedents for translations, followed More and Lyndwood and their interpretations of the Council of Oxford.

Mr Hilaire Belloc² supports Cardinal Gasquet's contention that the so-called Wycliffite Scriptures we possess are in reality Catholic orthodox versions, although he admits that they sometimes have an heretical preface, which, with characteristic independence, he maintains has been tacked on to them because it is only found attached to a very few examples and has no direct relation to the Bible to which it is attached. True, it has no *doctrinal connexion* with the Bible with which it is found, the actual text of which is orthodox, as also are the marginal glosses or notes which are simply explanatory and in no way used for party purposes; but the *intimate literary and historical connexion* between this Prologue and the actual text has since been demonstrated by Miss Deanesly, and so it does not seem possible that it has been tacked on later. By maintaining that the Prologue is heretical Belloc expressly admits the Cardinal's fundamental error, although he retains his conclusion by asserting that the Prologue has only been added to the text and therefore what we have today as Wycliffite Scriptures are really orthodox

¹ *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. J. E. Cox, Cambridge, 1846, "Preface to the Bible", p. 119.

² Hilaire Belloc, *A History of England*, 1928. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London), Vol. III, pp. 83-9.

Catholic ones. While admitting that a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular was made by Wyclif and his followers, Mr Belloc says that it seems certain that the full and complete Wycliffite translation has disappeared under the very searching orders for seeking out copies and destroying them. "It is possible, but not probable," he says, that these Wycliffites were the first to translate the whole Bible into the newly consolidated national language. The reasons he gives for its being not probable are that in all Wycliffite literature there is no trace of a claim to be first, and also that when the ecclesiastical authorities proceeded against Lollard versions of Scripture they specifically mention their heretical origin; that translations as such were not objected to and sought out, these being objected to only because of their origin and presumably the unorthodox comment attached to them. Thus they seem to take for granted an orthodox version and forbid only a version made by private individuals without leave of ecclesiastical superiors. But of course it can be urged in reply that Mr Belloc only *presumes* that they had an unorthodox commentary: moreover we have no contemporary evidence of a complete orthodox version being made at that time, in the newly consolidated national language of which Mr Belloc speaks. Mr Belloc then proceeds to maintain that it is nearly certain that the final and complete Wycliffite translation has now disappeared, and that what is called the Wycliffite Bible today is the orthodox English version of the later Middle Ages. The reasons he gives are:

(a) there is no early or continuous tradition that the vernacular and evidently accepted version was a Wycliffite one.

This may be so, but we have an early tradition that there was a Wycliffite version, and no tradition of a vernacular version made by the orthodox until the time of St Thomas More, save for the rather unsatisfying reference of Caxton a few years before St Thomas More's time.

(b) The Wycliffite preface has no direct relation to the Bible on to which it is tacked, and is so attached to very few examples.

This has been ably refuted by Miss Deanesly.

(c) There is no unorthodoxy in the New Testament, even where there is opportunity to give the Latin form new and
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plausible English forms supporting heresy, as was done at the Reformation.

But it should be remembered that the translators were among the most learned scholars of the day. Miss Deanesly observes¹ that the work was done whilst Lollardy was still almost solely an Oxford movement, whilst Lollard literature consisted of little other than the guarded, academic, authority-laden Latin writings of Wyclif himself. The work was not done under the second generation of extremist Lollards led by Oldcastle. Also their contemporaries did not accuse the Lollards of falsifying the Scriptures in their translations; not even Archbishop Arundel deemed it necessary to do this when he forbade their use in 1408. The Wycliffite circle at Oxford included some of the most learned scholars of the university who certainly did not account themselves as heretical. We can with safety assume that the Wycliffite translation was faithful because its authors were learned scholars, and because at this stage of the Lollard movement there was no special temptation to mistranslate or modify the text, besides which they would hardly have dared to do so as they would have invited immediate and justified censure.

(d) Why should the vernacular version we have be quite different in construction to the Wycliffite original down to Baruch? (Mr Belloc seems to hold that the Earlier Wycliffite version down to Baruch III, 20, where Hereford is mentioned, is all that we have today of the Wycliffite Bible.) Also he asks why they should rewrite all in a different style, and maintains that there is no record, history or tradition of any such rewriting.

Miss Deanesly's consideration of the General Prologue should clarify some of these points.

(e) That More, Caxton and Cranmer know of a long existing orthodox version.

Their evidence has been weighed up and criticized above. Admitting that none of the above points are decisive, Mr Belloc thinks that taken with the sixth *the matter is final*, viz.:

(f) that the vernacular version we have is always found in orthodox surroundings where an heretical version could never have been found.

But of course the actual version is not heretical, excepting for the General Prologue which is not found in all manuscripts, and is cut short for instance in the English Bible which Henry VI presented to the monks of Charterhouse. It is a brave

¹ Miss M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 230 seq.

man who maintains that what he has to say in such a disputed matter is *final*.

Dr T. E. Bird also seems to go rather far when he asserts:

"A common English speech was formed about the time of Wiclif. We have sufficient evidence to show that the whole of the Bible was translated into English before the followers of Wiclif completed their version, and that these versions were used up to the time of the Reformation."¹

On one side, then, we have Cardinal Gasquet's supporters maintaining that the so-called Wycliffite Scriptures we possess today are in reality fifteenth-century orthodox versions of a complete English translation made by Catholics, at, or just before, the time of Wyclif. Even when the Cardinal's fundamental error about the orthodoxy of our edition of the Wycliffite Scriptures is recognized (for no one can now deny that the General Prologue is heretical), some still try to maintain that the first complete English Bible was the work of Catholics in view of the evidence of Caxton, More and Cranmer. But they all overlook, and make no apparent attempt to answer, Miss Deanesly's vital point that our Wycliffite versions are intimately connected with an heretical Lollard prologue.

On the other side we have Miss Deanesly's defence of the traditional view that the Wycliffite Scriptures we possess today are really the work of Lollards, a position which she ably defends by pointing to their intimate connexion with the Lollard prologue. In the history of the Wycliffite Bible, she says, two misapprehensions have been successively held by certain scholars, viz. that there were mediaeval Bibles in English before Wyclif, and that late fifteenth-century MSS. of the English Bible were copies of these and not of the Wycliffite version. The prohibition of 1408, which allowed all those pre-Wycliffite partial Anglo-Saxon and Middle English translations and Rolle's Psalter, started the theory—Lyndwood made it more definite, Caxton furthered it and attributed the pre-Wycliffite Bible to Trevisa. More followed Lyndwood, while Cranmer,

¹ Rev. T. E. Bird, D.D., *The Bible in Catholic England*. (Catholic Truth Society. March 1938.)

anxious to find precedents for translations, followed them both, and subsequent writers tended to perpetuate the misapprehension. This explanation is not unlikely. Caxton, as a printer, would know that English Bibles without authority were forbidden by the Council of Oxford, and probably thought that this was because they were heretical and that therefore any which were allowed were the work of Catholic scholars, which he erroneously attributed to Trevisa. St Thomas More had seen Bibles in the houses of the orthodox and was also aware of the condemnatory decree of Oxford. To square these two facts he was persuaded that the Council of Oxford forbade translations because they were heretical, and as a lawyer who would be acquainted with Lyndwood's Commentary he read more into this commentary than the actual text need warrant, and assumed that there was a complete pre-Wycliffite translation allowed by the Council and that what he had seen in orthodox houses were versions of this translation.

In presenting the evidence of the conflicting opinions an honest attempt has been made to be impartial, to present both sides of the case, and to offer objective criticisms where they seemed due. The reader must endeavour to arrive at a considered judgement on the matter by himself.

The weight of the evidence certainly seems to be on the side of the opinion which claims that the so-called Wycliffite Bibles are really the first complete English Bibles, and that they are the work of Lollard scholars. The foundation of this evidence is the intimate literary and historical connexion between the heretical General Prologue and the text of the Versions. With Fr Thurston, S.J.,¹ the writer is inclined to accept the view of Dr Gairdner, who maintains that it is most probable that Wycliffite Versions, produced in the main by Wyclif's followers, were occasionally approved for the reading of individual orthodox Catholics (though more probably by confessors and spiritual directors, rather than by Bishops, as Gairdner implies) because they are straightforward translations of the Vulgate.

¹ Article, "Could Englishmen read the Bible in English before the Reformation? If not, why not?", by Fr Thurston, S.J., in the *Catholic Herald*, London, 11 November, 1938.

The scales are indeed to a certain extent balanced on the other side by the evidence of Caxton, More, etc., and the fact that the so-called Wycliffite Bibles are all found in the possession of the orthodox; but to this Miss Deanesly has attempted a reply which, if not conclusive, is at least possible, and coupled with her analysis of the General Prologue renders her thesis, not final, but the most probable one at the present stage of scholarship upon the matter.

J. F. H. TREGEAR

PRIESTLY VIRTUES

V. POVERTY

ARISTOTLE did not believe in poverty. Perhaps that is why St Thomas does not allot it an important place in his spirituality. In the *Summa* we find reference to it in an occasional article, for instance *à propos* of alms-giving, generosity or the religious life, but there is not the same stress laid on poverty as in the works of St Augustine. St Augustine had every reason to be particularly interested in the subject of money, and throughout his writings he reveals his desire to deliver Christian souls from its clutches. Many psalms are explained in the light of evangelical poverty, particularly psalms 38, 72 and 131. Two important sermons are Nos. 355 and 356, on the way churchmen should live. See also letter 157 (especially chapter 4) and letter 140. Other sermons on the subject are Nos. 14, 36, 60, 61, 85, 86, 177, 345 and 359. Finally, the whole of *De opere monachorum* shows the importance of poverty in the life of perfection.

But it was not only circumstances that led St Augustine to insist upon poverty. He understood how this virtue was introduced into the world by Our Blessed Lord. A few pagans had preached the forsaking of earthly things, but none of them had

invoked the love of God as a motive for doing so. The Old Testament had foreshadowed the teaching of the New, but the Jews were always praying for worldly prosperity. That is why they misunderstood the lesson of the crib at Bethlehem. Our Lord's poverty was the first thing that struck His contemporaries. He entered and left the world a poor man. Both St Augustine and St Francis of Assisi base their teaching on Our Lord's example, but whereas St Francis insists upon our *loving* poverty, St Augustine stresses its *necessity* as being the narrow way to Heaven that only Our Blessed Lord can show, the true foundation of the City of God.

For St Augustine, poverty is *aversio a creaturis per conversionem ad Deum*. It is not so much absence of riches as an attitude of heart towards them. Like meekness and humility it is just another negative side of love for God. If we love God we ought not to be interested in human things, whether we have them or not. Like these two virtues, poverty has a double foundation: our place in creation, above things and below God, and our supernatural vocation. The first of these foundations is based on reason, the second on Faith. The first depends upon the mystery of the Creation, the second upon that of the Incarnation and Redemption. It is because of this double basis of meekness, humility and poverty that the person who practises them becomes a living sermon of Our Lord's teaching. It is this that makes them eminently priestly virtues.

But poverty is worth still more to the man of God. It is a deliverance that frees a soul from earthly cares. Let us remember that the virtue of poverty is an attitude of heart. Many a priest is burdened with earthly things through the necessities of his office; he should never be burdened with earthly *cares*. Again, poverty is the direct reversal of our first parents' vice. They, living in abundance, were seduced by the things of this world. We purposely refuse to be seduced by the same things, and by despising them return towards God, rediscovering our original place immediately beneath Him. Finally, the poor man joins in the work of the Redemption. Our Lord bought back man and returned him to God. To do this, He became man and detached Himself from the world. If we wish to turn with Our Lord to God, we must turn from the world. If poverty can be

defined *aversio a creaturis per conversionem ad Deum*, sin is *aversio a Deo per conversionem ad creaturas*. It was because poverty was necessary for anyone wishing to co-operate with our Redeemer that it was so strongly recommended to the Apostles.

Perhaps the necessity of poverty can be more clearly understood if we trace the ravages of its opposite vice, avarice. Avarice goes with pride. Both separate us from God and drag us down to the level of material things. Avarice offers us a support for happiness, and once we have that we will certainly not look for happiness in God. Perhaps that is the connecting link between nineteenth century materialism and twentieth century irreligion.

The supernatural basis of poverty suggests an intimate relationship with both the theological and the moral virtues. It prepares us for the reception of Faith, Hope and Charity by subduing Mammon, one of the two masters that we cannot serve together. In the same way, as we come closer to God by developing the theological virtues, so our spirit of poverty becomes more intense. It is indeed through Faith that we see the hollowness of creatures, realizing the meaning of our supernatural vocation, through Hope that we trust God instead of human things, through Charity that we place our treasure in heaven instead of upon earth: *ubi thesaurus, ibi et cor*. Theoretically, it is possible to conceive a spirit of poverty without the theological virtues, based on reason alone, but in fact it has never existed and probably never will.

More intimate still is the relationship between poverty and prayer. A poor man is a beggar, and to beg is to pray. A poor man is hungry—hungry for God. The rich, says St Augustine, do not receive their fill because they never hunger or thirst.

Again, poverty assures peace, the fruit of charity. We never quarrel over things we possess in common, only over things we claim for ourselves. Planners of new social orders should remember that peace is based on an *attitude* towards riches rather than upon riches themselves—a useful hint for the Communists!

This brings out the social aspect of poverty. Indeed, a man truly poor radiates the beauty of God before his fellowmen. He is humble, gentle and peaceful towards them. I might add that an intense desire for poverty could motivate and illustrate

priestly celibacy, for how could a destitute man support a wife? Any experience of the world shows how money-seeking accompanies sensuality, wine and carnal desires. The poor man is just because he finds no motive for stealing; having lost worldly prudence, he acquires the prudence that seeks a treasure in heaven. He is strong because he has conquered the world: *fecit mirabilia in vita sua*.

Poverty may not be the first Christian virtue, but it is the first beatitude that shall merit the greatest of gifts, the kingdom of God. The poor in spirit shall possess God in their hearts; they have the right to enter God's church on earth; they will find eternal rest in Abraham's bosom.

How difficult it is, but how necessary, for a priest to acquire the right attitude towards money! There is no need to go back upon the history of the Church to perceive the evils that have sprung from avarice. Perhaps the building of St Peter's in Rome has a doleful lesson to offer in that respect. We need only visit certain parishes and places of pilgrimage to realize that sometimes the faithful fail to see the man of God in their midst because he has not radiated a spirit of detachment from money. Yet a priest must needs ask for money, and even make it. Is there not much true sanctity in a priest who can make money without ever being called a money maker?

SEBASTIAN REDMOND, A.A.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

CONFIRMATION: GRAVE SICKNESS

The terms of the new indult defining the powers of the extraordinary minister seem to require in the sick candidate a danger of death which is more certain and proximate than that required for Extreme Unction. Have you any further support for

the opinion given in *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1947, XXVII, p. 84, that for both sacraments the danger required is the same? (X.)

REPLY

Propaganda, 4 May, 1774; *Fontes*, n. 4565: . . . agatur de eo, qui gravi morbo laboret, ex quo decessurus praevideatur. . . .

Canon 940, §1: *Extrema Unctio*. . . . ob infirmitatem vel senium in periculo mortis versetur.

S.C. Sacram., 14 September, 1946; *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1947, XXVII, p. 57, n. 2: . . . dummodo hi fideles *ex gravi morbo in vero mortis periculo sint constituti, ex quo decessuri praevideantur*.

There is this difference between the two dangers of death, that if the person is in danger from old age or from some lingering sickness, he may receive Extreme Unction and the other last rites validly and lawfully; but quite probably the reception of Confirmation, though valid, might, in such circumstances, be unlawful, since in the case of a lingering sickness it might be possible to secure a bishop, as required in n. 3.

It must be admitted that the phrasing of the recent document and of its predecessor in 1774 seems to require a more proximate and certain danger of death than is required, following the common teaching, for Extreme Unction. At the time of writing we had no commentaries on this recent decree, but we are now relieved to find that the view which we think correct is that of two other commentators:

E. Bergh, S.J., writing in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 1947, p. 85, states: "On connaît l'interprétation commune du canon 940, §1, quant au péril de mort qui justifie l'administration de l'extrême-onction. Dès qu'il y a danger, du fait d'une maladie grave, même si la guérison reste possible et même plus probable, on peut recevoir l'extrême-onction. Il semblerait à première vue qu'on exige plus dans le cas présent, en demandant la *prévision* de la mort (ex quo decessuri praevideantur). Nous ne voudrions pas cependant urger cette remarque au détriment des malades qui bénéficieront de l'indult."

Cesare Zerba, an Under-Secretary of the Congregation of
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the Sacraments, in an article from the *Osservatore Romano*, printed in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, February 1947, p. 166, is even more explicit: "A questo riguardo, a scanso di scrupoli e titubanze, l'estimazione del grave pericolo deve farsi con criterio morale: praticamente quando il medico lo dichiarerà tale, ovvero quando il sacerdote, nella sua prudenza pastorale, crederà sia giunto il momento di amministrar gli ultimi sacramenti soliti a conferirsi ai moribondi: viatico ed estrema unzione. Le parole del Decreto '*gravi morbo . . . ex quo deceduri praevideantur*' equivalgono praticamente alle altre usate dal Codex in casi analoghi: '*urgente mortis periculo*'."

Grave sickness is one thing, grave sickness carrying with it danger of death is another, and the two conditions are provided for in the Code, as in the faculties given to priests from canon 523 (*religiosae omnes, cum graviter aegrotant*) and 882 (*in periculo mortis*). Applying the accepted principles of Probabilism, it is now agreed that a probable danger of death suffices both for the faculties of canon 882 and for the reception of Extreme Unction, though in the past some theologians have required the sick person to be at the point of death. In fact, the edition of the Roman Ritual previous to that of 1925 appears so to refer to the aged in Tit. v, cap. i, n. 5: "*qui prae senio deficiunt et in diem videntur morituri . . .*"; the current edition, n. 8, follows the Code, canon 940 §1: "*ob infirmitatem vel senium in periculo mortis*".

The phrase in the recent document stresses the necessity of danger of death accompanying grave sickness before a priest may use this new faculty of confirming. Priests on foreign missions enjoy much wider powers, and in the form for their use given in the Appendix to the Roman Ritual we read at the end "*pueris aegrotantibus conferendum est, vel etiam adultis, qui ad ecclesiam quacunque ex causa, legitima tamen, accedere nequeunt*." Persons in this condition are by no means included in the faculty granted 14 September, 1946, and it was, perhaps, for this reason that the wording stresses danger of death, by repeating the phrase used in 1774. "Danger of death" and "anticipated departure from this life" are really the same thing, and we are unwilling to believe, until directed to the contrary, that the Sacred Congregation has formulated a rule for Con-

firmation in danger of death which is different from the currently accepted teaching on Extreme Unction in danger of death. In our opinion the conditions for the use of this faculty are verified whenever grave sickness carries with it a probable danger of death.

CONFIRMATION: TERRITORIAL LIMITS

It is the custom in many English dioceses for faculties in diocese "A" to be given to the parish priests of bordering parishes in diocese "B", and the faithful though domiciled in "A" habitually attend the bordering parish church in "B". May the parish priest of "B" properly request from the Ordinary of "A" the power to administer Confirmation, in these circumstances, to the faithful of "A"? (X.)

REPLY

Canon 782, §3: *Hac facultate . . . valide uti nequeunt, nisi intra fines sui territorii. . .*

S.C. Sacram., 14 September, 1946, I, 2; *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1947, XXVII, p. 57: *Praefati ministri Confirmationem valide et licite conferre valent per se ipsi, personaliter, fidelibus tantummodo in proprio territorio degentibus. . .*

This working arrangement for parishes on the border-line of two dioceses requires delegated jurisdiction from the Ordinary of "A", granted within the limits of the Ordinary's own powers to a parish priest of the neighbouring diocese "B". These powers cover jurisdiction for the sacrament of Penance since it is within the Ordinary's competence, from the common law, to give confessional jurisdiction within his diocese to any priest whether belonging to his own diocese or not.

The parish priest of "B" may validly and lawfully confirm the subjects of "A", provided they are at the time of Confirmation actually within his own parish in "B", and he needs for this purpose no special faculty or permission from the Ordinary of "A".

But he cannot validly confirm anyone who is at the moment

of Confirmation outside the limits of his own parish in "B". Nor *a fortiori* anyone outside the limits of his diocese "B". The territorial limits must be strictly observed under pain of invalidity both by Vicars Apostolic, as in canon 782, and by parish priests who enjoy the new faculty, as we find forcefully expressed in the second paragraph of n. 2 of the recently promulgated document.

He may properly apply to the Ordinary of "A", if the circumstances warrant it, for the necessary faculty which, if obtained, would be by virtue of a particular indult from the Holy See.

CANONICAL FORM OF MARRIAGE

A child baptized validly in the Church of England attends a Catholic school, and the circumstances of his baptism being unknown to the authorities he makes his First Communion and is brought up religiously in all respects like the other children. Is he subject to the canonical form for his valid marriage later on in life? (O.)

REPLY

Canon 1099, §1: *Ad statutam superius formam servandam tenentur: 1. Omnes in catholica Ecclesia baptizati et ad eam ex haeresi aut schismate conversi, licet sive hi sive illi ab eadem postea defecerint, quoties inter se matrimonium ineunt.*

§2. *Firmo praescripto §1, n. 1, acatholici sive baptizati sive non baptizati, si inter se contrahant, nullibi tenentur ad catholicam matrimonii formam servandam.*

This and other border-line cases, in which it is not clear whether the person is to be regarded as a Catholic or a non-Catholic for the purpose of marriage, have not been officially decided by the Holy See, and we know of no published nullity causes which would assist in reaching a decision. The difficulty existed under *Ne Temere* and most of the Code commentators follow the teaching of Van Den Acker, *Decreti Ne Temere . . . Interpretatio* (1915), pp. 100-105.

i. The parents, after the child's baptism in the Church of England, may have themselves been reconciled to the Church, in which case the child not of the age of reason becomes a Catholic also; the proper course would have been to supply at least the ceremonies, if there was proof of valid baptism, and to make the appropriate inscription in a Catholic baptismal register,¹ thus putting the "Catholic" status of the infant beyond all question. But even though this proper course was not followed, it is clear that an infant in such circumstances must be regarded as becoming a Catholic together with the parents: "*durum et inauditum videtur huiusmodi parentum nunc catholicorum infantes, qui catholice educantur, vocare acatholicos, praesertim si parentum neo-conversorum cura horum infantium nomina in libro baptizatorum . . . descripta sunt. (Nota vocabulum praesertim, quia hanc inscriptionem non consideramus tamquam conditionem sine qua non.) Neque mirum videtur, eosdem infantes absque propriae voluntatis actu ab acatholicis fieri catholicos simul cum parentibus, quum etiam in baptismo parvulorum voluntas infantium censeatur inclusa in voluntate parentum.*"²

ii. If the parents remain non-Catholics, the Catholic status of the child before the age of reason cannot be established unless at least one parent guarantees its Catholic education, as in canon 750. It is difficult to see how this could possibly be effected without getting the child's name inscribed in a Catholic baptismal register, or by some such other express and formal declaration as might be given, for example, if the parents surrendered the child for adoption. The point need not detain us since the above question does not raise the issue. For when the child comes to the age of reason, whatever doubt there may be is removed by its profession of the Catholic faith: "*. . . conversio ad catholicam ecclesiam fieri non videtur nisi per actum voluntarium; qui si postulatur, hi infantes dicendi sunt acatholici, quoadusque ipsi postea, rationis compotes, talem actum posuerint, quo appareat eos voluntarie ecclesiae catholicae adhaerere; quod manifestabunt per sacramentorum susceptionem et praecipue per primam communionem.*"³ The

¹ Cf. THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1941, XX, p. 544; 1942, XXII, p. 373.

² Van Den Acker, op. cit., p. 102.

³ loc. cit.

proper course would have been for the child at the age of reason to be received into the Church like any adult convert without absolution from censure. But even though this was omitted, it appears that a person becomes subject to the canonical form of marriage by professing and practising the Catholic faith, in the circumstances of the above question, even without the ceremony of a formal reception into the Church. This view is held by Gougnard, *De Matrimonio*, p. 281; Oesterle, *Apollinaris*, 1939, XII, p. 103; Chrétien, *De Matrimonio*, §221; Cf. also *Periodica*, 1941, p. 48. The reason is that conversion or adherence to the Catholic faith is implied in a person's actions and manner of life.

iii. The conclusion about Catholic status given in (i) is certain and is taught by all the commentators we have consulted. The conclusion in (ii) is less certain: many do not advert to the point at all, and there is some difference of opinion in defining the conduct or actions which tacitly imply adherence to the Catholic faith, the common view being that the reception of sacraments is necessary. We think that this is correct, but in all such cases there are sufficient reasons for submitting the validity of the marriage to the Ordinary.

STATUE ON THE TABERNACLE

In a small oratory, in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, a statue of Our Lady stands permanently on the top of the tabernacle. May this be permitted, at least on the grounds of immemorial custom? (X.)

REPLY

S.R.C., 3 April, 1821, n. 2613.6: An toleranda vel eliminanda sit consuetudo, quae in dies invalescit, superimponendi Sanctorum reliquias pictasque Imagines Tabernaculo, in quo Augustissimum Sacramentum asservatur, ita ut idem Tabernaculum pro basi inserviat? *Resp.* Assertam consuetudinem tamquam abusum eliminandum omnino esse. Cf. also n. 2906

forbidding a statue before the door of the tabernacle even temporarily; also n. 3673 forbidding the practice of placing a statue "in medio altaris maioris loco tabernaculi vel . . . in huius posteriori parte". Bouscaren, *Digest*, II, p. 377, prints a reply from *S.C. Consist.*, 8 October, 1932 (private), directing the above decrees to be observed in an instance where an Ordinary states that there is a statue of the Sacred Heart on the tabernacle which it is difficult to have removed.

The instructions are so explicit on this point that it is scarcely worth while considering the possibility of an indult being obtained permitting, in special circumstances, a statue to be placed on the top of the tabernacle. The statue must be removed, or erected on a wall bracket well above the tabernacle, provided it corresponds with the titular of the altar.

The only articles permitted, or, if you like, tolerated, upon the top of the tabernacle are the altar crucifix¹ and the exposition throne during the time of exposition.²

Reverence for the Blessed Sacrament is the reason for the rule, and the two exceptions are not illogical, since in the one case it is the Blessed Sacrament in question, and in the other the crucifix which the altar must have and which cannot easily be placed elsewhere than on the tabernacle.

PRECEDENCE OF PARISH PRIEST

At a function in his church which was attended by many of the clergy, including the local dean and a canon, the parish priest modestly insisted on the dean and the canon taking precedence of him in choir. Was this correct? (V.)

REPLY

The rules of precedence as contained in the Code summarize the existing law, and doubts should be settled on this basis, as

¹ n. 4136.2; *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1935, X, p. 308.

² n. 4268.4; *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1935, IX, p. 60.

in canon 6, 2-4. In canon 106 we have a highly successful attempt at reducing the rules to some leading principles, but they do not meet every contingency and n. 6 directs the Ordinary to make local rules having regard to local customs as well as to the common law. The above doubt, if not settled by local practice, should have been solved differently, in our opinion.

The parish priest in his own church takes precedence of all other clergy, unless the law provides to the contrary; for example, if only one canon, even though merely honorary, accompanies the bishop, he takes precedence of the parish priest.¹ Individual canons as such enjoy no precedence over the parish priest,² notwithstanding the permission they now have, from canon 409, §2, of wearing the choir dress throughout the diocese.

Neither, in our opinion, should the local dean take precedence of the parish priest in his own church, unless the occasion is one on which he is exercising his decanal powers. Notwithstanding canon 449, §2, which gives a dean precedence over parish priests in his district, we rely for this opinion on *S.R.C.*, n. 723; canon 449, §2, is not considering the presence in the parish church of the dean as a private individual. Actually, the position given to deans varies in different dioceses, according to the degree in which they function, and it might well be that this opinion is rejected by local custom in some places.

The reason for the precedence given to a parish priest in his own church is well expressed by Ferraris: "*Quilibet autem parochus in propria ecclesia omnibus aliis parochis praecedit, excepto capitulo cathedralis, quia . . . quilibet in domo sua regulariter dicitur maior . . . Rectores autem Ecclesiarum in propriis ecclesiis dicuntur esse in propria domo.*"³

As between the dean and the canon on this occasion, precedence is due in our opinion to the canon, saving local rules to the contrary.⁴

¹ Authorities in De Herdt, *Praxis Pontificalis*, I, §109.

² *S.R.C.*, nn. 616 & 2239.2.

³ *s.v. PraeCEDentia*, n. 84. Cf. also *l'Ami du Clergé*, 1914, p. 136, where other authorities are given for this view.

⁴ Cf. *Code Commission*, 10 November, 1925; Michiels, *De Personis*, p. 561, grades a dean below a canon.

THE PASSION ACCORDING TO SAINT MARK

Is it correct for the words *Ave Rex Judæorum* to be given to the Chronista in the Passion which is sung on the Tuesday in Holy Week? On Palm Sunday and Good Friday these words are sung by the Synagoga. (F.)

REPLY

Previous to the text of the Missal issued by Pius V in 1570, the variations to be found in different uses were considerable, and this was particularly so in the signs inserted throughout the four accounts of the Passion in Holy Week. From an article by Dom Joseph Kreps in *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales*, 1923, p. 3, it is clear that they were originally signs for the guidance of the singer in days when the Passion was sung by one deacon. The variations of these signs in different manuscripts Dom Kreps describes as baffling (*déroutant*).

In the first printed Missal, 1474, published by H.B.S., Vol. XVII, 1899, spaces were left for the signs to be added in manuscript, in order, we suppose, that each purchaser of the Missal might insert those desired. The H.B.S. editor, however, as explained in a footnote to page 136, inserted the signs to which we are accustomed. On Tuesday in Holy Week, in the space before the words "*Ave Rex Iudæorum*" (p. 147) the editor inserted "C", but since the whole of the preceding passage is assigned to "C", it would seem that "S" should have been inserted, and "C" resumed in the space before "*Et percutiebant*".

An examination we have made of the available missals, supplemented by the kind assistance of two monastic librarians, reveals that the passage is given to "S" in the following copies: Norwich Manuscript, fifteenth century; Antwerp 1574; Paris 1583. Two Sarum Missals, Paris 1515, give the passage to "A" (Alto) which is the equivalent of "S".

All the rest examined give no assignation, that is to say the passage belongs to "C" as in our current missals: Venice

1571; Paris 1583; Venice 1585; Antwerp 1614, 1631 and 1682; Paris 1701; Malines 1789; Rome 1846.

Unless some more satisfactory explanation is forthcoming, our suggestion is that the omission of "S" in this place began, perhaps by error, in the Missal of Pius V, 1570, and has continued thus, with the exception of a couple of late sixteenth-century missals, because printers were obliged to follow the typical edition from Pius V onwards.

E. J. M.

BOOK REVIEWS

Democracy, Should it Survive? By various authors. Small 8vo. Pp. 136. (Dennis Dobson, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

THIS small book has a value far beyond its size. It is a collection of fifteen essays by various writers, Catholic and non-Catholic, chiefly American and English, dealing with different aspects of the great crisis for civilization which has come to a head in the Western World. Fundamentally the problem which faces the world today is the problem not merely of human destiny, but of human dignity; and the first aim of any defender of our traditional way of life must be the defence of the dignity and rights of the human person.

Catholic readers will not be surprised to find that, with one notable exception, the Catholic contributions are much more solid and satisfying than those of the non-Catholic contributors to this volume. Mr Walter Lippmann is an outstanding exception and his essay on "Man in Modern Education" is a most penetrating criticism of the fundamental defects of a great deal of what has been called education in the world of today. Having abandoned the tradition of Western and Christian culture, the secular educationists have found nothing of true value with which to fill the gap. "We have established a system of education in which we insist that while everyone must be educated, yet there is nothing in particular that an educated man must know." It is a pity that Mr Lippmann's essay is critical rather than constructive and that he does not make any positive suggestions for meeting this grave menace to the future of our culture.

In comparison with Mr Lippmann, Sir Stafford Cripps has written, under the title of "The Individual and the State", a curiously insipid and unconvincing essay on the need for love in social life based in a vague way on an appeal to "Christ our Master and Friend".

After two philosophical essays, on "The Dignity of Personality", by Mgr J. A. Ryan, and on "The Human Person", by Fr Gerald Vann, O.P., the strongest contributions come from Don Luigi Sturzo, who writes on "Totalitarianism and the Dignity of Man", and Mr Christopher Dawson, whose essay is entitled "Religion and Mass Civilization". Mr Dawson covers well-worn ground in a field which he has made his own, and underlines most soberly the important point that it is incorrect and perhaps unjust to speak of a materialist civilization as though it did not possess a spiritual basis. What has happened is that "civilization has become temporarily extroverted and that its attention is concentrated on the practical aspects that lie on the surface of its consciousness". Another thoughtful essay comes from the pen of M. Jacques Maritain, entitled "Humanism and the Dignity of Man". Written with an earnestness of conviction and an intense sense of the value of human persons, M. Maritain's essay is an attempt to define the religious and Christian basis of "Democracy". He quotes Bergson's remark that "democracy is of evangelical essence", and insists that although Christianity is not linked to democracy there is a very real sense in which democracy is linked to Christianity and that the "democratic impulse" has its source in "the evangelical inspiration". For a philosopher, who must begin by defining his terms, this language is surprisingly vague. Nowhere in his essay does M. Maritain define what he understands by "democracy", nor by "Christianity" nor by what he calls "the Gospel leaven" or "the evangelical inspiration". It would have been clearer had he explained the position of the Church in relation to Christianity and the place of revelation and supernatural grace in the maintenance of right order and peaceful relations among men. M. Maritain must surely remember, for example, question 91 of the *Prima Secundae*. One cannot help feeling that in this lack of definition he lays himself open to the criticisms which have already been directed, notably by Mr T. S. Gregory, against his *Rights of Man and Christianity and Democracy*.

In fact, on their positive side most of these essays suffer either from vagueness or from lack of any really constructive proposal. Mr Philip Murray rightly sums up the central problem when he says that we can speak of man's rights only if we recognize the truth of man's divine origin and his link with the eternal. "If we deny this

basic truth, we cut away the ground upon which rests the inviolability of human rights. Deny man's link with God and his transcendence over the merely temporal, and you forge for him the first link in the chain of servitude. You make him a mere cog, a mere instrument, of the collectivity. You fall into the frightful error of those who believe, and assert with the force of armed might, that man is only a robot to further the interests of the greater whole, be it State or race." Other contributors say the same thing in different ways. But none of them—neither Mr Lippmann nor Mr Dawson nor M. Maritain—is able, at least within the scope of these essays, to make more than vague suggestions as to remedies. After all, the "evangelical inspiration" and the "social regeneration" and the "spiritual renewal" which these writers demand must be embodied either in some institution or in concrete forms; and unless this is made abundantly plain it seems unlikely, if not impossible, for the many people who are seriously distressed at the decline of our civilization to find and recognize the true remedy. It is becoming increasingly plain that the field is being set for the ultimate struggle between Catholicism and collectivism in whatever form the latter may show itself. And it is important to emphasize that Catholicism and Christianity mean in fact the Catholic Church. Failure to underline this fact is the gravest weakness in an otherwise valuable collection of essays; and it is not unimportant to remember that the recognition of this fact throws a weighty responsibility on those who are aware of its implications.

A. B.

Léon Bloy. A Study in Impatience. By Albert Béguin. Translated by Edith M. Riley. Pp. 247. (Sheed & Ward. 12s. 6d.)

THIS book marks still further the increasing popularity of a group of laymen that has given quite an impetus to modern French Catholicism. In this country we were already well acquainted with Jacques Maritain, Paul Claudel and François Mauriac. Last year Mrs Bethell translated Halévy's *Péguy and les Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, and now we find an excellent introduction to Léon Bloy. We have still to know Ernest Psichari, Ernest Hello, and Pierre Termier, the poet-geologist. Much has been produced about these on the Continent, and even popularized in such series as *Les Grands Coeurs*. They are all fascinating characters, typically idealist, generous and self-sacrificing. But, as M. Béguin is well aware, some of them can be easily misinterpreted by young people "hungry for mysticism". Perhaps, in this respect, Léon Bloy is the most dangerous of them all.

In one of his letters, Bloy writes, "I might have become a saint

and a worker of miracles. I became a man of letters." It is as a man of letters that he is to be read and not as a model or a teacher of spirituality. Much in his writings is theologically unsound. Joy does not necessarily make God seem far off, and affliction does not necessarily bring him near to us (p. 39). Strictly speaking, it is dangerous to say that "a heart without affliction is like a world without revelation; it sees God only in the faint gleam of twilight. Our hearts are filled with angels when they are full of affliction" (*ibid.*). Bloy's notion of affliction often smacks of quietism. Suffering may be necessary, but it is not "the very essence, the vertebral axis of moral life", not even if we argue, as Bloy does, that it was the essence of Our Lord's life (p. 42). Again, as M. Béguin avows, this "irascible prophet", even while being an "embodiment of love," can say some awful things, such as the words of *Le Désespéré*: "One day there was absolutely nothing for it but to die or to lay hold of some mechanism of hope, no matter what the cost. I became a Christian . . ." (p. 36). What makes Bloy even more dangerous is the fact that with regard to him we cannot really speak of a conversion and retraction. His whole life was a series of conversions and retractions.

Because of the romanticism and lack of balance in Bloy's works, this book affords a good introduction for the uninitiated. M. Béguin is well aware of difficulties and pitfalls. He attempts a psychological study while admitting the dangers of modern psycho-analysis. He appears conscious of glossing over some of the less happy incidents in Bloy's life (for instance, the association with Véronique, the visionary), and yet he alludes to them in an effort to be fair.

What is more important is that he does not make a model of Bloy, as others have done. Like Péguy, Bloy is to be read for his flashes. Amidst sentimentality, false mysticism, tedious egoism, we find most enlightening sentences on suffering, evangelical poverty, the Mystical Body, and the Communion of Saints.

Where perhaps M. Béguin fails is that he tries to make a synthesis of evidence that is too incomplete and conflicting to be objectively systematized. One feels that the author has at the back of his mind the ways of traditional mysticism, and tries to fit Bloy into them. He is intent upon tracing an evolution where there is obviously none. He discovers four roads to the innermost secrets of Bloy's soul: that of suffering, that of poverty (linked to considerations on anti-Semitism), that of history and that of contemporary distress. But are these the four key ideas of Bloy's mind, or are they chosen from a host of others, more or less akin to them, by a scholar who, like most French writers, has a flair for clearness?

It is this incompleteness that makes M. Béguin's book an ex-

cellent introduction. There is little criticism of Bloy's teaching, but many allusions to persons, works and places that awaken our interest and curiosity. M. Béguin offers the best in Bloy while drawing little or no conclusion. That is a quality rather than a fault, for there has been a tendency in France to use the lives of these men as argument in favour of Catholicism. Père Rousselot's theory of *Les yeux d'amour* was never condemned, but it can be easily misapplied to writers of romantic temperament who, in fact, have often passed from the Catholic Church to the madhouse.

S. R.

Morals in Politics and Professions. By Rev. Francis J. O'Connell, C.S.S.R. Pp. 187. (Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Maryland. \$2.50.)

THE author is one of the leading theologians in America, professing Moral Theology at the Catholic University of Washington, and a frequent contributor to *The Ecclesiastical Review*. Though most of the topics discussed in this book appeared first as articles in that journal, the collection has a unity and coherence which abundantly justifies a reprint: for they are designed in this shape chiefly for the informed Catholic layman in public and professional life, explaining to him Catholic principles and practice which are becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. It is a testimony to the common culture and way of life, shared by us with our brethren in America, that these essays apply equally to us in this country.

Fr O'Connell has always been a prominent exponent and defender of Catholic principles governing our relations with non-Catholics, a situation which is probably even more exacting in America, owing to the First Amendment to the Constitution, than it is with us. Because of the less rigid separation of the various religious denominations in the American armed forces, and the expectation of the civil government that, in times of war at least, they will all amicably engage in united services, it is more than usually important that Catholics, especially those in command, should know that this is not permitted. An important monition from the Military Ordinariate, addressed in 1943 to all chaplains, has had the effect of smoothing many of the difficulties encountered in the services, by making perfectly clear the attitude which Catholics must in conscience follow.

Co-operation in divorce proceedings is an increasing problem in every modern State, and the usual principles about the double effect are skilfully and persuasively applied; following the teaching of most theologians, Fr O'Connell is stricter over the intervention of counsel

defending a divorce petition than he is with a judge giving a decree, because usually the reasons which appear to justify it are less grave.

Occasionally the solutions of certain problems have appeared to us to be rather strict, but on reflection we have found the author's position to be justified. It is, however, difficult to understand why, in procuring for just reasons a specimen of male semen after conjugal intercourse, the physician is directed to wait for an hour.

On the whole question of Catholics in public life, it is interesting to note that Fr O'Connell laments, as we do also in this country, that the proportion of practising Catholics is not commensurate with their proportion of the whole population, and he has to face the unpleasant fact that many in public life fail gravely in their duties as Catholics.

Each chapter is provided with notes and references enabling the reader to pursue the subject further, and we are pleased to find that Fr Davis's *Moral and Pastoral Theology* is in such frequent requisition. As regards the medical profession, the laity are well served with literature in English. It is the special merit of this book that the problems attendant upon other professions and public positions are not neglected, and we hope that it will have a wide circulation in this country.

E. J. M.

Priest and Penitent. By Rev. John C. Heenan, D.D. Pp. 117. (Douglas Oran. 3s. 6d.)

THIS is the second and revised edition of a work first published in 1937 which has become deservedly popular amongst the laity. The clergy possess a number of treatises on the Sacrament of Penance, but they will supplement and perfect their knowledge by entering with Dr Heenan the penitent's door of the confessional instead of the priest's. The author is extremely successful in putting before the layman, accurately and sympathetically, an outline of the penitent's obligations in the tribunal of Penance. There is in one chapter an examination of conscience, not in the form of a catalogue of sins as contained in many prayer books, but rather as a commentary on the commandments adapted to modern needs. We like especially the explanation given of the necessary deliberation required before a grave sin can be committed, and the warning that many sins confessed as against charity are really violations of justice calling for restitution. On these points, and throughout the book, there is ample evidence that it is written by a doctor of theology who has, in addition, a wide experience of dealing with penitents.

E. J. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

"ET IN HORA MORTIS NOSTRAE"

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1947, XXVII, p. 165)

The Rev. Thurstan Felix Collins writes:

In a note on page 171 of Mgr Batiffol's *History of the Roman Breviary* (translated by A. Bayley) the words "et in hora mortis nostrae" are attributed to the Franciscans and not to the Cistercians. Grancolas is quoted thus: "Additamentum Sancta Maria in nulla precum formula ante 1508 reperitur; tunc vero usurpari coeptum, Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus, Amen. Franciscani addiderunt postea, et in hora mortis nostrae, atque ita in Breviario anni 1515 legitur; eaque de causa Cardinalis S. Crucis, qui Franciscanus fuerat, Breviario suo inseruit; Pius Papa V Ave et Sancta cum Franciscanorum additamento Romano breviario inseri voluit."

The Catholic Dictionary of Addis and Arnold, as well as Adrian Fortescue, states that all ancient liturgies extant, with one insignificant exception, contain the *Pater Noster* in the Mass, and that St Gregory merely changed its place in the Roman Mass: *mox post canonem* and before the Fraction of the Host.

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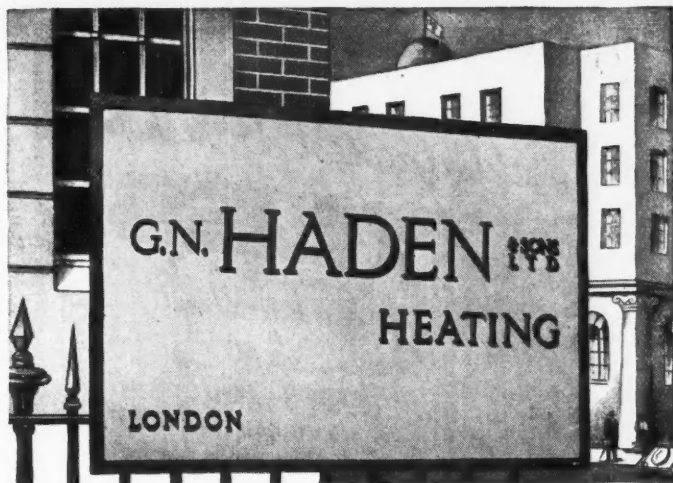
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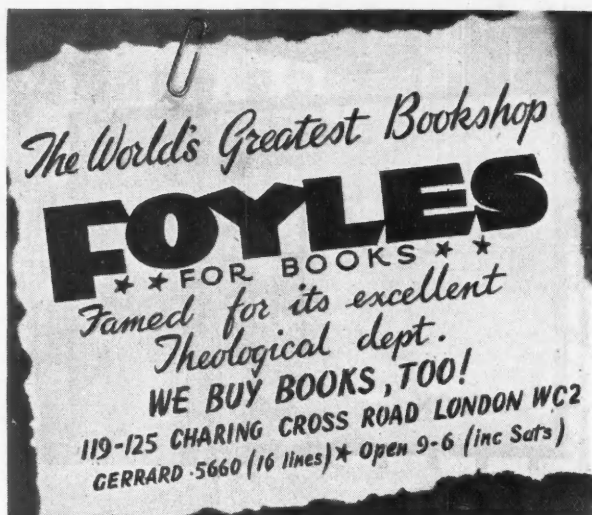
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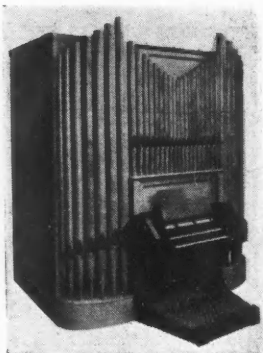
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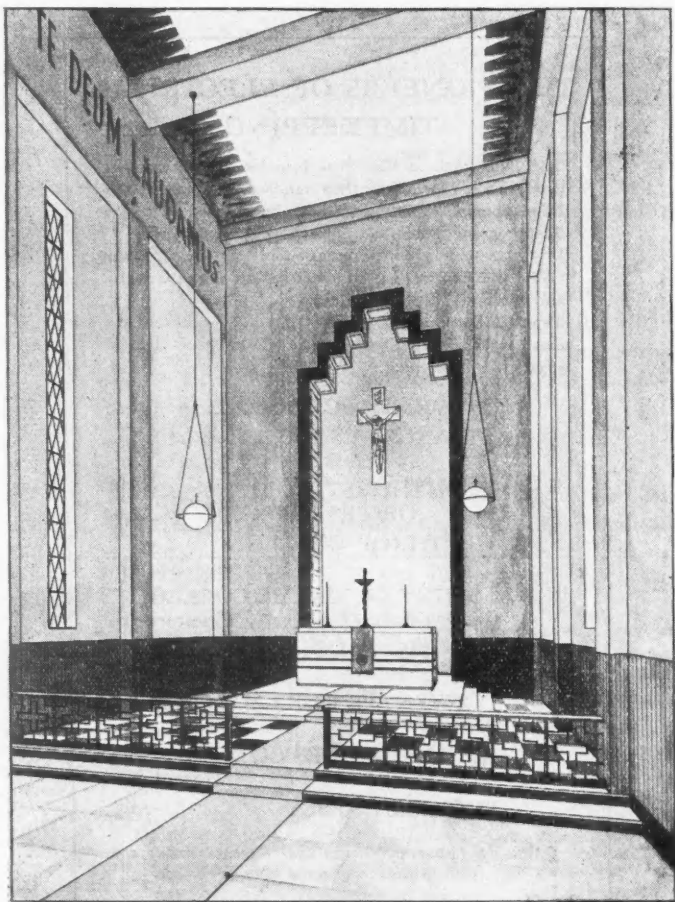
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